THE MUGHAI PROVINCE OF AGRA DURING THE 17th CENTURY (1582-1707)

A Political and Economic Study

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

HISTORY

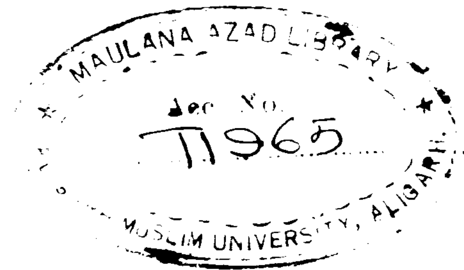
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A B S T R A C T

Various aspects of historical developments during the 17th century have been studied at a general level (i.e. whole of India, or Northern India) in a number of able monographs; but detailed surveys of regional history of large areas are lacking. In the present thesis an attempt has been made to fill this lacuna in respect of Mughal *suba* of Agra during the Seventeenth century.

We have, in Chapter I, made a geographical survey of the *suba*, treating factors which might have influenced the setting of the territorial limits of the *suba* in 1592. Its topography, administrative divisions, probable distribution of population and important townships are then described.

The administrative structure of the *suba* has been discussed in Chapters II and III. Evidence available for the position, duties and functions of different officials is here set out. (Chapter II is concerned with the *suba* level officials, viz., the Governor, *Diwan*, *Bakhshi* and *Sadr*; while Chapter III is concerned with other officials, viz., *Qila'dar*, *Faujdar*, revenue officials and the *Qazis*).

The system of assignment of *jagirs* within the *suba* is discussed in Chapter IV. Since the general features of this system are, owing to modern work pretty well known, I have restricted my discussion to specific information pertaining to the suba Agra, viz., award of *jagirs* in different localities, and relations of *jagirdars* with local revenue officials etc.

Chapter V dealing with the Taxation System discusses mainly the land-revenue and taxes on manufactures and inland and export trade. An attempt has also been made to see whether any change occurred in the magnitude of the land-revenue demand during our period.

In Chapter VI, the main features of agricultural and non-agricultural production within the *suba* of Agra are surveyed. We have tried to analyse the area statistics of the *Ain-i Akbari*, and to establish the actual extent of cultivation at the time. Its evidence has also been used to discuss productivity, prices and distribution of major crops. In case of non-agricultural products a description is offered of the sources of raw-materials, and centres of production on the basis of available evidence.

In Chapter VII, we have discussed the strategic importance of Agra in the commercial world of the period, products available for export, trade-routes, means of

transport, organisation of trade and finance and volume of trade in the case of few products. Movement in the prices of some of the products is also briefly discussed.

Unfortunately, information which could throw light on urban conditions is very scanty, and indeed relates almost entirely to the city of Agra. Thus in Chapter VIII salaries and wages of servants, labourers and artisans, their living conditions, as well as the luxurious life of the nobles and the position of the rich merchants have been dealt with.

Chapter IX undertakes to discuss the award of tax-free grants to certain people out of the state exchequer. An attempt has been made to analyse the statistical information given in the _Ain-i Akbari_, in respect of _suyurghal_ within _suba_ Agra. The questions examined include the size of grants within the _zamindari_ areas of different castes, types of land alienated, and the inheritability of the grants. Finally, the institution of _waqf_ grants from evidence relating to _waqfs_ within the _suba_, is described.

In Chapter X on _zamindars_ we have attempted to discuss the nature of _zamindari_ rights, its sale and transfer, caste composition of the _zamindar_ class, extent of _zamindari_

possessions of different castes and clans and distribution of _zamindari_ possessions among traditionally called cultivating and non-cultivating castes, within _suba_ Agra. We have paid particular attention to the armed power of the _zamindars_ and their relations with the peasants. Finally, we examine how far the _zamindars_ of _suba_ of Agra offered a recruiting ground for the Mughal nobility (_mansabdars_). Some of the leading clans who became eligible for such recruitment like the Bundelas, Bhadauriyas, Narvaris, Khanzadas, etc., are dealt with separately. Finally the position of the Jats, who were to rise in rebellion and form a principality of their own within the _suba_, is discussed.

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P R E F A C E

The present thesis seeks to offer a survey of the Mughal suba of Agra (1582-1707) in a limited number of aspects - geographical, economic and administrative. Cultural and social conditions are not treated. The attempt has been made to built up the description on the basis of contemporary evidence in Persian and other languages relating to the suba. A number of questions are, however, examined for which situations in Agra might serve as illustration of the whole or a large part of the Mughal Empire.

I take this opportunity to express my deep sense of gratitude to my teachers, Professor S. Nurul Hasan and Professor K.A. Nizami for their kind guidance. In no words can be expressed my deep sense of gratitude to my Supervisor Professor Irfan Habib. My thanks are also due to my friends and colleagues who have helped me in various ways during the course of my study.

Faiz Habib, my young friend, has drawn the maps under the able guidance of Mr. Zahoor Ali Khan, and I am so grateful to them.

Lastly, I should not fail to thank the staff of the Research Library, Centre of Advanced Study in History, and Maulana Azad Library, for their kind cooperation. I am also grateful to Mr S. Mohammad Noman and Mr Zahoor Ahmad Khan for typing the thesis with their usual care.

Aligarh
15 December 1978

K. K. Trivedi

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C O N T E N T S

MAP & GRAPHS

CHAPTER I

THE SUBA OF AGRA

- A Geographical Survey

The *suba* of Agra was constituted by Akbar in 1580,[1] when he superseded the earlier division of the Empire into sarkars inherited from the Lodi period.[2] The *sarkars* of the earlier period were made smaller in size, many of the old being divided up, and many completely new *sarkars* being created. A number of such contiguous *sarkars* formed one *suba* or province. The *suba* of Agra, as now created, extended over territory lying between 75° and 81° degrees of longitude E., and 24° and 29° degrees of latitude N.

The *suba* included the old sarkars of Agra, Bayana, Mian-wilayat, Gwalior, Kalpi, Sehonda (Seondha), Kanauj and Mewat.[3] Under the new scheme there were now 13 *sarkars* viz., Agra, Kalpi Kanauj, Kol, Gwalior, Irij (Erachh), Bayanwan (Payanwan), Alwar, Tijarah, Narnol and Sahar.[4] Towards the middle of the

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1. Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, III, ed. Blochmann, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1873-87, p. 282; Cf. P. Saran, *Provincial Government of the Mughals*, (1526-1658), Allahabad, 1941, pp. 64-65.
2. See the list of sarkars in *Baburnama*, translated by A.S. Beveridge, (1922), Reprint, 1970, p. 521.
3. *Ibid*.
4. Abul Fazl, *A'in-i Akbari*, ed. Blochmann, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1867-77, pp. 442-55.

17th century the *sarkars* of Tijarah and Narnol were transferred to the *suba* of Delhi.[1]

Each *sarkar* was again divided into a number of *parganas* or *mahals*. The *mahal* containing the *sarkar* headquarters was usually styled haveli, [redacted]. In the *suba* Agra, as in some other provinces where the *zabt* system of assessment prevailed, groups of generally contiguous *mahals* were formed into blocks which had the same cash revenue rates or *dastur-ul 'amals*. A *sarkar* could have comprised a single *dastur*-circle, or might contain three or four *dastur*-circles within itself.

There is ample material in our sources on the geography of our *suba*. The *A'in-i Akbari* contains a complete list of the *mahals* of each *sarkar*; and at least from the early 18th century other such *mahal*-lists are known to exist.[2] Unfortunately, only the *mahals* of the Agra *suba* located in the districts of Uttar Pradesh have been fully identified and located. This work was done first of all by Elliot in

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1. As is established from the *sarkar* lists in *Dastur-ul Amal-i Alamgiri*, c. 1659, British Museum. Add. 6599 (Rotograph copy in the Department of History, A.M.U.), f. 109b; Rai Churaman, *Chahar Gulshan*, Maulana Azad Library, A.M.U., MSS. No. 292/62, ff. 53b-54a; MSS.No. 69, f. 42a; MSS.No. 87/7, ff. 51b-52a.

2. For example list contained in British Museum Add. 6586, ff. 90a-93a (Rotograph copy in the Department of History, A.M.U.).

1844.[1] But for the other half of the *suba* Agra at the moment one can only make use of the modern medium and small scale maps[2] for locating the various places listed in the *A'in* or mentioned in other sources. Even here while the identification is simpler in the case of the areas in Haryana and Rajasthan, it is very difficult to locate the various *mahals* lying within Madhya Pradesh. Use has however been made of Irfan Habib's *Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, sheets 6A and 8A, which give the locations of a number of *mahals* in this region.

It may be useful here to give the territories of the various *sarkars* of the *suba* Agra in terms of modern districts:

Sarkar Agra: Dholpur, Bharatpur, Alwar (in eastern Rajasthan); and Agra, Mathura, Etah (all in U.P.).

Sarkar Kalpi: Hamirpur, Jalaun and Kanpur (in U.P.).

Sarkar Kannauj: Etah, Mainpuri, Etawah, Kanpur, Kannauj and Farrukhabad (in U.P.).

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1. H.M. Elliot, *Memoirs---of North-western Provinces--*, II, ed. J. Beams, London, 1869, pp. 83-103; and maps facing p. 203.

2. I have used the quarter-inch maps of the Survey of India, and series No. 1301, NG43 of the U.S.Army Map Service (1/1000,000).

<u>Sarkar Kol</u>: Aligarh, Bulandshahr and Etah (in U.P.).

<u>Sarkar Erachh</u>: Chhatarpur, Tikamgarh (in M.P.); Jhansi, Jalaun and Hamirpur (in U.P.).

<u>Sarkar Gwalior</u>: Gwalior, Morena and Bhind (in M.P.).

<u>Sarkar Payanwan</u>: Jhansi (U.P.), and Shivpuri (M.P.).

<u>Sarkar Narwar</u>: Shivpuri (M.P.), and Kotah (Rajasthan).

<u>Sarkar Mandrael</u>: Morena (M.P.), and Sawai Madhopur (Rajasthan).

<u>Sarkar Alwar</u>: Alwar, Jaipur (in Rajasthan); and Gurgaon (Haryana).

<u>Sarkar Tijarah</u>: Alwar (Rajasthan) and Gurgaon (Haryana).

<u>Sarkar Narnol</u>: Mohindergarh (Haryana); Jhunjhunu, Sikar and Jaipur (in Rajasthan).

<u>Sarkar Sahar</u>: Gurgaon (Haryana), Bharatpur (Rajasthan) and Mathura (U.P.).

The boundaries of the <u>suba</u> seem to have been based on geographical as well as politico-administrative considerations. The <u>suba</u> boundary on the eastern side ran along the course of the Ganga river. On the other sides no such natural barrier was taken into consideration. In case of the <u>sarkar</u> boundaries sometimes physical barriers separated

two *sarkars*; thus we find that the Vindhya hills separated the *sarkars* of Mandlaer from Narwar, Gwalior and Payanwan. Similarly, *sarkar* Gwalior found in the Chambal river and its badlands a natural boundary with the *sarkar* of Agra, and in the Vindhya hills for major parts of its boundary with the *sarkar* of Payanwan. Between the *sarkars* of Narwar and Payanwan ran an extension of the Vindhya hills. In case of other *sarkars* no such consideration seems to have operated since we find that the *parganas* belonging to the *sarkar* of Agra were situated on both sides of the Yamuna river; and the *parganas* of *sarkar* Payanwan on both sides of the Sind river. Similar is the case of the *sarkars* of Orachh and Kalpi through which passed the Betwa river. Quite obviously rivers, unless very large, or with extensive badlands, could not serve as effective boundaries.

The *suba* consisted of two distinct geographical blocks: First, the middle Doab and the trans-Yamuna plains, north and south of the Chambal river, which are both completely alluvial and form part of the Ganga plains (Spates Region XI)[1]; and, secondly, the hilly and rocky region extending in

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1. O.H.K. Spate & A.T.A. Learmouth, *India and Pakistan, A general and Regional Geography*, 1967, pp. 415-16.

a rough arc from Mewat to Erachh and belonging partly to Spate's Region XV A('The Aravalli Range'), and partly to his Region XVI-1A (the 'Vindhyan Rock Zone').[1] This region does not contain very high ranges nor any plateaus, but mostly comprises low lying hills, large stretches of rocky land with isolated hillocks and river-made narrow alluvial valleys, often breaking into ravines.

The grouping of these two widely different areas into a single suba might have many explanations. It is certainly interesting to note that the northern boundary of the suba Agra very closely corresponds to the northern limits of the area of the Braj dialect separating it from the area of Khari-boli. Its western boundary runs along the lines where Hindi is replaced by Rajasthani. Similarly, the eastern boundary, in part, corresponds with the boundary of the Awadhi dialect. But towards the south correspondence with the language or dialect is not clear. We could say on the whole that the nuclear zone of the suba Agra was the Braj speaking area, which extends into Doab on the one side, and the spurs of the Aravallis on the other.

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1. O.H.K. Spate & A.T.A. Learmouth, India and Pakistan, A General and Regional Geography, 1967, pp. 416-18.

But apart from the linguistic convenience in uniting the two geographical zones into one province, there might have been excellent military and political reasons for doing so. The Doab and trans-Yamuna plains could furnish the bases from which the chiefs of the hilly-tracts could be more conveniently controlled. This could not have been the case had these areas been placed under either Ajmer or Ujjain (the head-quarters of Malwa). In either case the Mughal commanders would have found these territories far more difficult of access, than from Agra.

The hilly region or our Block II was also strategically important in that the route leading to Ajmer and Gujarat and that leading to Malwa and the Deccan both passed through this zone.[1] It was therefore important to keep the area under firm control; and such control could, as we have seen, be excercised best from Agra.

From the economic point of view the suba of Agra formed a homogeneous region in one respect; that is, it is purely a wheat zone. It will be seen from a map in Spate[2] that the rice region, i.e. the region where rice is cultivated

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1. See infra, on routes.
2. Spate, figure No. 16.6, pp. 552-53.

more than wheat, begins just east of Kanpur, which means just east of the borders between the Agra and Allahabad <u>subas</u>. Another agricultural feature of the <u>suba</u> was that it united three of the most important indigo producing tracts in the country: the Bayana indigo tract, the Khurja-Kol tract and the Mewat tract.[1]

The Yamuna and Ganga rivers were the principal rivers of the <u>suba</u>. They have their sources in the Himalayas, while their major southern tributaries, viz., Chambal, Sind and Betwa rivers, rise in the Vindhya hills, whence they traverse the hilly terrain of Malwa and Bundelkhand. Towards the west there is no large river.

The courses of the major rivers follow a well-marked pattern: They all tend ultimately to flow south-eastwards. While the Ganga takes a turn towards the south-east in the early stages, the Yamuna still flows in a south-westerly direction, until it meets the Delhi ridge, a spur of the Aravalli hills. This turns it firmly towards the south, a direction it follows until it reaches Agra. Here it makes a definite turn towards the east; apparently ridges sent out from the Aravallis are again responsible for this change in

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1. See <u>infra</u>, on agricultural production.

its course.[1] From Agra onwards the slope of the country is so definitely towards the east that even the Chambal river suddenly changes its course, seeming to approach Agra and then turning to run eastwards almost parallel to the Yamuna for quite a distance.

There seems to have been a change in the course of the Ganga river which flowed on the eastern borders of the suba. Some time between the end of the 16th century and the end of the 18th century (when Rennell mapped the region) the Ganga shifted towards the east abandoning a channel that ran from pargana Pachlama (sarkar Kol) to pargana Shamsabad (sarkar Kannauj).[2] The old course of the Ganga is indicated on the maps under the designation Budhi-ganga river and there are broken grounds fringing the eastern bank of this channel.[3]

No censuses are available from the Mughal period for the population in our suba. Ashok V. Desai and Shireen Moosvi have recently thrown some light on the population of

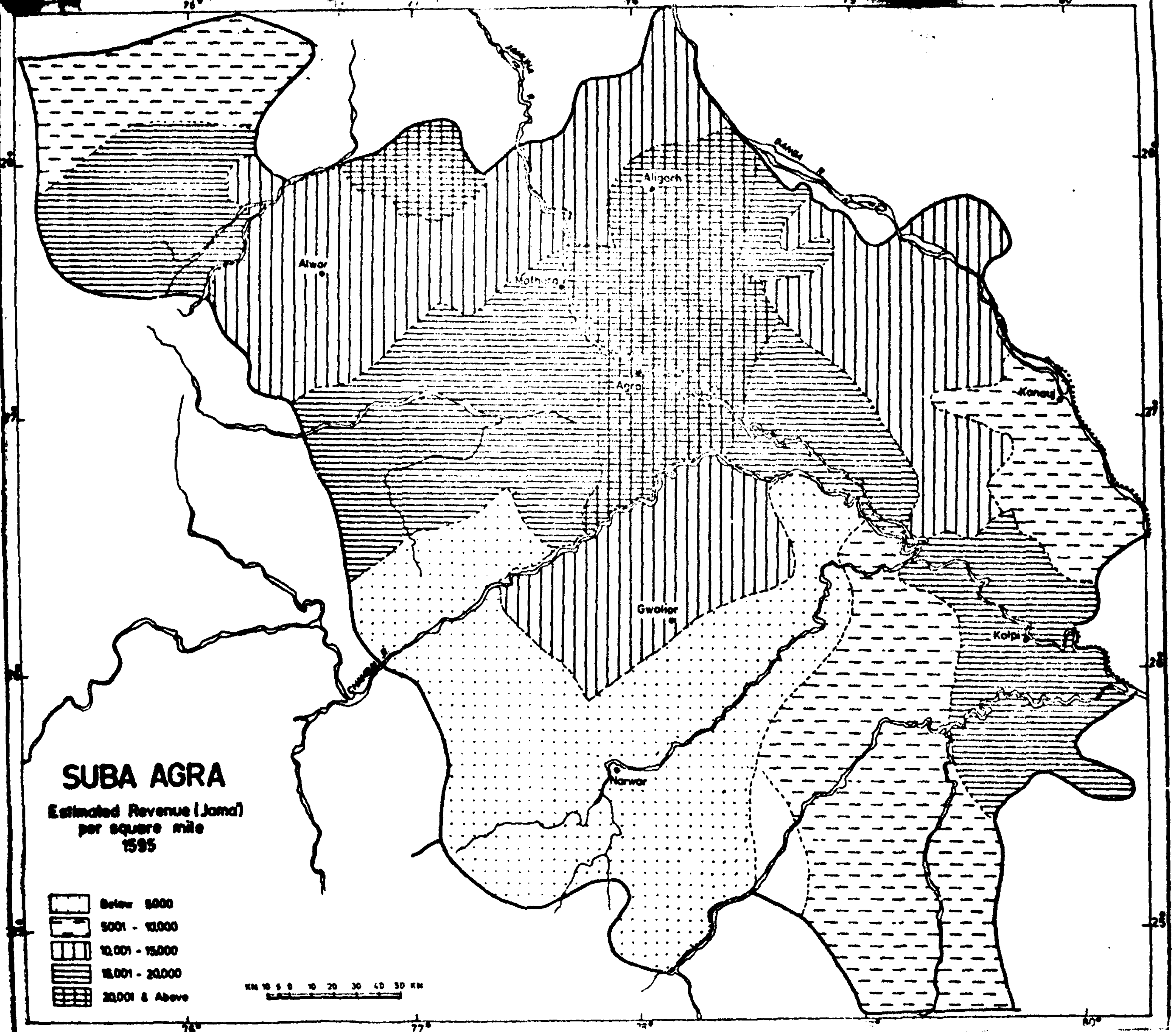
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1. It would seem that the Agra fort stands on a small rocky formation, now completely covered by structures and pavements.

2. A'in I Nawal Kishore edition, p. 33, which says that while at Agra or Fatehpur Sikri Akbar used to drink the Ganga water brought from Soron, situated a little southward of pargana Pachlama. See map in Rennell's Bengal Atlas for the altered course. Rennell drew the map in 1781.

3. See Survey of India map (Quarter inch), Sheet No. 54I.

MAP I


SUBA AGRA
Estimated Revenue (Jama') per square mile 1595
Below 9,000
9,001 - 10,000
10,001 - 15,000
15,001 - 20,000
20,001 & Above
KM 10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 KM
Aligarh
Alwar
Mathura
Agra
Kanauj
Gwalior
Kalpi
Narwar
GANGA R.
JAMUNA
CHAMBAL R.
76°
77°
78°
80°
28°
27°
26°
25°

some *subas* in the Mughal Empire, c. 1600, partly on the basis of *jama* statistics of the respective areas.[1] It may be presumed that the *jama* or *jamadami* of different *parganas* broadly represents the relative size of population in the different localities; and this may enable us to work out the pattern of population distribution in the *suba*. Since it is difficult to work out the *jama'* per square mile at *pargana* level, I have chosen the next higher division, viz., the *dastur*-circles.[2] This map based on these data (Map I) shows that the circle containing the capital city of Agra had the highest *jama'* per sq. mile, followed by an adjacent block in the Yamuna-Ganga doab (Kol etc.) and an isolated pocket in Mewat (Tijara). Some parts to the south of the Yamuna river also return high *jama'* per square mile.

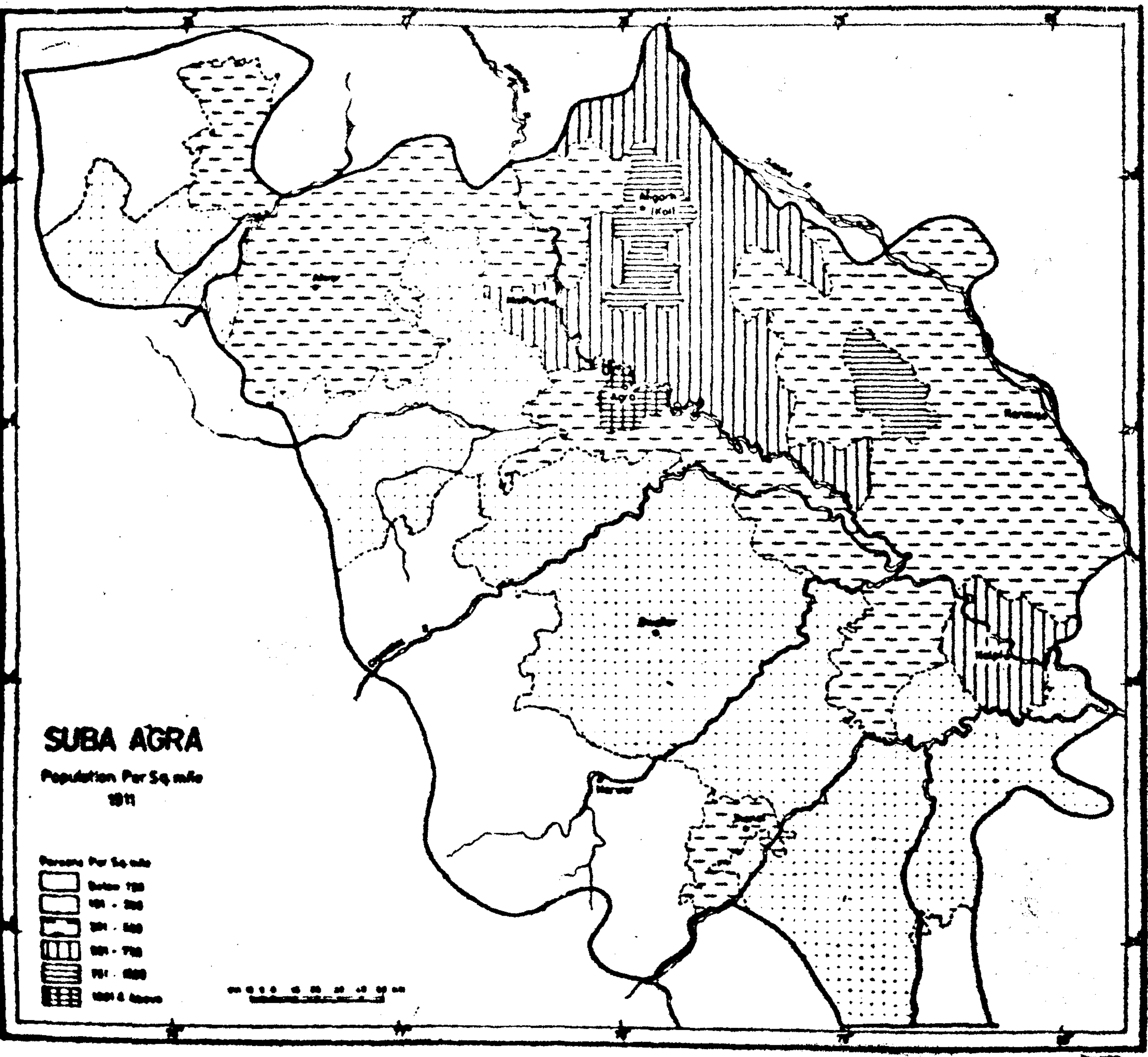
Generally speaking towards the east in the doab, *jama'* per sq. mile is higher along the Yamuna than along the Ganga. Towards the west of Agra, the Bayana block adjacent to Agra has high *jama'*. But the *jama'* then declines as one proceeds further westwards towards Narnaul. Similarly, the *jama'* declines substantially as one goes southwards. The sarkars of Mandlaer, Narwar and Payanwan returned *jama'* per sq. mile between 100 and 5,000 *dams*.

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1. Ashok V. Desai, 'Population and Standard of Living in Akbar's time', *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* (IESHR), March 1972; Shireen Moosvi, 'Production, Consumption and Population in Akbar's time', *IESHR*, X, No. 2, 1973, pp. 181-195.

2. *A'in*, Nawal Kishore edition, II, pp. 14-21.

MAP II

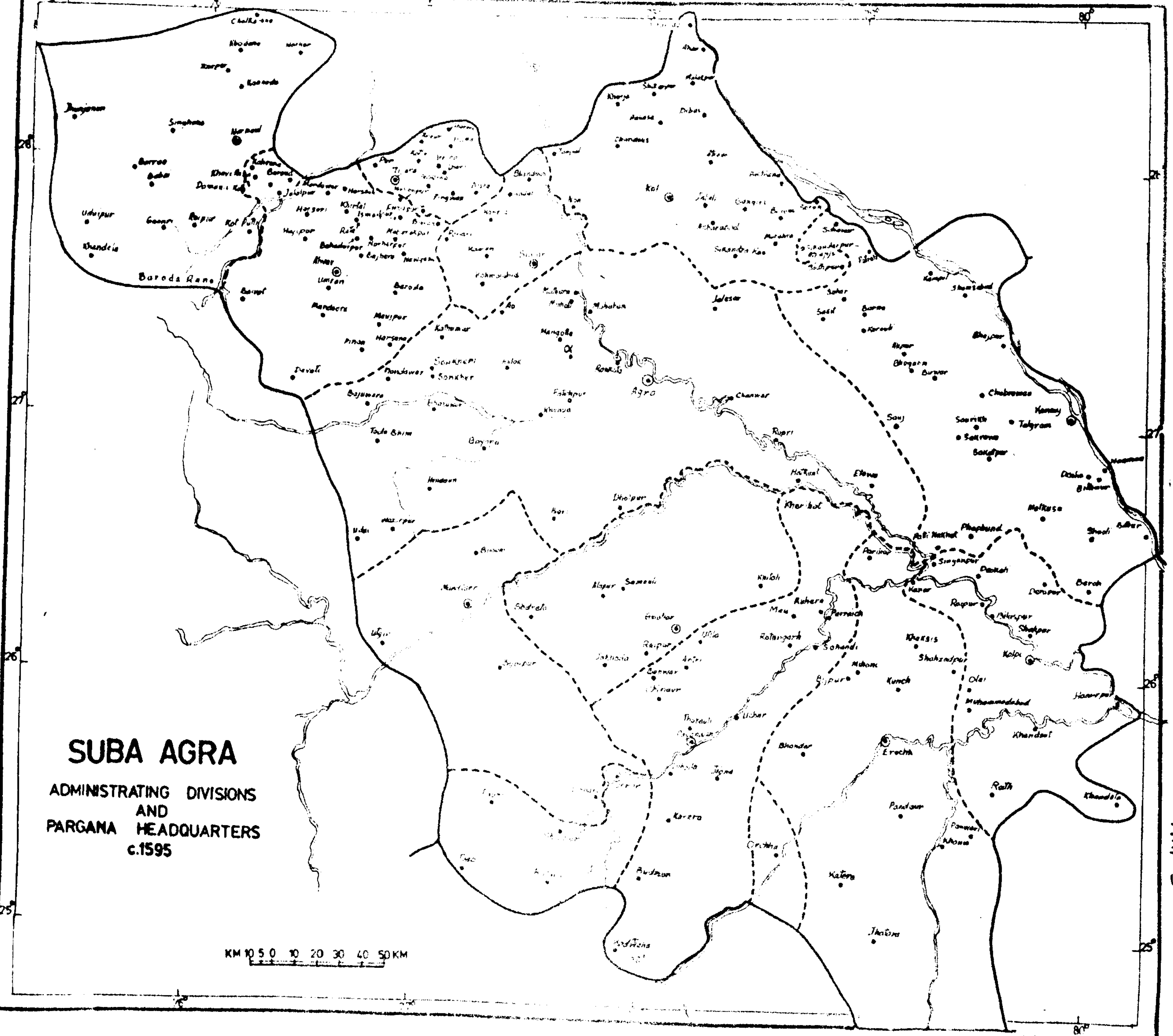


The distribution of population suggested by the *jama'* distribution is broadly corraborated by the 1911 Census.[1] The *tahsil* level population statistics covering the area of the *suba* have been transferred on Map II and divided into six different blocks to indicate broad regions according to relative density of population. The census data shows the highest concentration around Agra and then in the doab extending towards Aligarh. Except for a pocket (Farrukhabad-Kannauj) near the Ganga, population density seems higher along the Yamuna precisely as suggested by the map of *jama'* distribution. In contrast, however, to the very high *jama'* that the Bayana block enjoyed, the tract had only moderate density in 1911. This may perhaps be explained by the higher revenues yielded in the 16th century by the cultivation of its celebrated crop, indigo. The Tijara block similarly has only moderate density now. Otherwise, as with *jama'* per sq. mile, density of population in the 1911 Census also declines westwards as well as southwards.

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1. *Census of India*, 1911, Vol. XIV, Pt. II (Punjab), Lahore, 1912, (Provincial Table I), p. ii; Vol. XV (United Provinces of Agra & Oudh), Part II, Allahabad, 1912, pp. 782-84; Vol. XVII (Central India Agency) Calcutta, 1913, (Provincial Table), pp. ii-iii; Vol. XXII, Part II (Rajputana and Ajmer Merwara), Calcutta, 1912, (Provincial Table I), pp. ii-vi.

MAP III


SUBA AGRA
ADMINISTRATING DIVISIONS
AND
PARGANA HEADQUARTERS
c.1595
KM 10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 KM
Agra
Kol
Narnol
Baroda Rana
Jalesar
Etawa
Dholpur
Gwalior
Kalpi
Erachh
Kanauj
Bayana
Hindaun
Toda Bhim
Rath
Chanwar
Rapri
Phaphund
Bhander
Sakit
Bhojpur
80°
27°
26°
25°
28°

The coincidance of the low-density zones in both maps is sufficiently close to suggest that (a) the pattern of _jama'_ per square mile reflected broadly the distribution of population, and (b) the distribution of population was broadly on the same pattern in 1600 as in 1911.

In the distribution of the population as reflected in the density of _jama'_, agricultural factors played the dominant role. As is to be expected, the alluvial doab had higher density. But sometimes, as around Agra, the density of population was directly affected by a large urban concentration.

There is some indirect evidence as to distribution of towns in the _suba_. The list of the _parganas_ given in the _A'in_ when plotted on a map shows that in the northern part of _sarkar_ Alwar and in _sarkar_ Tijara the head-quarters of _parganas_ were situated very close to each other. This was true also, though not to the same extent, for the south-eastern part of _sarkar_ Kol where a number of _parganas_, including a few _parganas_ belonging to _sarkar_ Kannauj, were situated close to each other. The remaining _parganas_ of _sarkar_ Kannauj were situated in two groups running almost parallel to each other from north to south-east, leaving gaps

on the western side. Curiously enough on the eastern side of the sarkar Agra, on both banks of the Yamuna river, very few parganas are listed in the A'in. On the other hand, in the Doab generally, the sarkar-headquarters have remained district or tahsil headquarters and most pargana headquarters have survived as townships.[1]

Normally it would have been expected that the semi-urban centres of the 16th century would develop into urban centres as the time passed. But we find a different picture. In the region covered by the old sarkars of Alwar and Tijara, which had over 80 parganas listed in the A'in, the 1951 census shows ten towns or townships (of population above 5,000 persons per square mile), none of which were pargana head-quarters in the earlier period. A similar marked change has occurred on the left bank of the Yamuna river where a number of urban settlements have emerged, with commercial and industrial populations. Also, that gap which had earlier existed on the left bank of the Yamuna river has shifted further east; while on the right bank of the

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1. Sarkar or pargana head-quarters which have become district head-quarters are Kol (Aligarh), Etawah, Agra, Mathura, Alwar; those which have become tahsil head-quarters are numerous, to name a few, Khurja, Atrauli, Sikandra Rao, Jalesar, Rath, Kalpi, Bilhaur, Chhabramau, & c.

Yamuna a few large centres of rural population[1] are plotted by the National Atlas Population Plate.

In the sarkars situated towards the south entirely new townships have emerged, and only a very few parganas seem to have developed into modern townships. The sarkar head-quarters of Erachh, Payanwan, Narwar and Mandlaer have not even survived as tahsil head-quarters. Similarly, a large number of new townships have emerged in the areas in the trans-Yamuna region of the old sarkar of Agra.

The emergence and development of new townships seem to have taken place from the beginning of 18th century when the central authority of the Mughals had started to decline, and new centres of power arose, e.g., the Jat and Bangash principalities (centred at Bharatpur and Farrukhabad). still it is difficult to explain the decline of the townships in the Alwar-Tijara region, and the emergence of new townships on the main route from Agra to Etawah and eastward.

The strategic importance of Agra itself needs careful consideration. The question naturally arises as to why Sultan Sikandar Lodi preferred a new site for his capital so

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1. Population Maps, Jaipur and Lucknow Plates, 113 & 114, published by Survey of India, 1951.

close to Delhi, the traditional seat of the ruling authority in the north, and why Akbar continued to stay, and even build a massive fort at Agra. Finally, why about the middle of the 17th century did Shah Jahan shift the capital to Delhi again?

The contemporary sources of the 16th century do not seem to have appreciated the strategic importance of Agra.[1] The Yamuna between Delhi and Agra was not usually navigable, but from Agra to the east it, the Yamuna, soon to receive the waters of the Chambal, was well suited for navigational purposes. At the time Agra was founded (1506 AD), the Sharqi Sultans of Jaunpur were a constant source of trouble for the Lodis. Yamuna, from Agra onwards provided a quicker passage to the east. Also, compared to Delhi it was closer to Malwa and Rajasthan. It is interesting in this connection to note that not only Delhi, but also Gwalior, was an alternative site for capital under the Surs. Gwalior, still more than Agra, was important for controlling Malwa.

Akbar probably realised the strategic importance of Agra. It can be seen that important routes to the Deccan,

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1. Such appreciation is totally absent in the traditional story of its selection for capital in Niamat Ullah, Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, ed. Imam Uddin, 1960, p. 100, as cited by Abdul Halim, History of Lodi Sultans of Delhi and Agra, Delhi, 1974, p. 33.

Rajasthan and the east all passed through Agra. So long as Agra played its role in helping to control these regions it remained the capital. When such control was tolerably well established and the main military concerns for the Mughals were the north-west and the Deccan it made little difference whether the capital city was Agra or Delhi. Indeed, Delhi was a little better for controlling the north-west. Probably this factor, and the charm of founding a new city persuaded Shah Jahan to build a new capital (Shahjahanabad) at Delhi.

Agra was the biggest town of India by the end of the 16th century. It was situated mainly on the western bank of the Yamuna with some extensions across the river. In his first regnal year Shah Jahan redesignated it as Akbarabad.[1] The town had started to develop in an unsystematic way after it became the capital under the Lodi Sultans, and continued as such in the later period as well.[2] The imperial establishments, and the houses of the nobles and some big merchants were built on the west bank of the Yamuna. There were gardens and pleasure pavilions of the nobility on the other bank.[3] The

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1. Abdul Hamid Lahori, Badshahnama, Bib.Ind., Calcutta, 1866-72, II, 156.

2. Francisco Pelsaert, Jahangir's India (The Remonstrantie), tr. Moreland & Goeyl, Delhi, 1972,pp. 1-2.

3. A'in, II, 84; Peter Mundy, Travels, II, 'Travels in Asia', 1630-34, ed. Sir R.C.Temple, Hakluyt Society, 2nd Series, XXXV, London, 1914, p. 207; Lahori, II, 157; Manucci, Storia do Mogor, 1656-1712, tr. W. Irvine, London, 1907-08, I, p. 132.

The general spread of the population was along the river bank.[1] The city kept expanding on the same pattern and occupied in 1627-28 twice the area that it is said to have covered in 1595.[2] Its population was estimated at about half a million in 1609,[3] and about 650,000 in 1640-41.[4] Agra surpassed in size and population any European city of that period.[5]

Even after the shift of the capital to Shahjahanabad, towards the middle of the 17th century, Agra does not seem to have lost its prime position. It still remained the chief mart of the northern India, and swarmed with European and other merchants from outside India.[6]

The development of the city was not made on any definite plan. The houses of nobles or common people were apparently built just where the builders could get land. The nobles and big merchants lived in palatial houses,

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1. A'in, II, 84; Lahori, II, 157; Manrique, Travels, 1629-43, tr. C.E. Luard, Hakluyt Society, 1927, II, p. 151; Manucci, I, 132.
2. Compare the circumference given in the A'in, II, 84, and Lahori, II, 157.
3. Fr. Xavier, Letters, 1593-1617, tr. Hosten, JASB, Ns, XXIII, 1927, p. 121.
4. Manrique, II, 152.
5. Early Travels in India (1583-1619), ed. W. Foster, London, 1927, pp. 18 (Finch), 228 (Withington).
6. See Chapter on 'Trade and Commerce'.

generally single storeyed, with a tank and a grove surrounded by big walls.[1] On the other hand, the ordinary people lived in huts or small structures made of base materials.[2] The streets were winding and narrow.[3]

Close to the city of Agra, Akbar founded a new town, Fatehpur Sikri, which remained his capital for some time. Unlike Agra, it was a walled city and developed on a planned basis, with straight streets and market places along with the houses of the grandees of the empire.[4] For some time Fatehpur Sikri seems to have enjoyed prime position and was visited by the foreign merchants to procure their requirements. But once abandoned it went rapidly to ruin, losing its position even as a significant mart.[5]

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1. Thomas Roe, Purchas his Pilgrimes, MacLehose, IV, 443; Pelsaert, 66-67; Francois Bernier, Travels in the Mogul Empire, 1656-68, tr. A. Constable, London, 1916, p. 234-35.

2. T. Roe, Purchas, IV, 443; Pelsaert, 66-67; Thevenot, 49; Tavernier, Travels in India, 1640-67, tr. V. Ball, London, 1925, I, p. 105.

3. Thevenot, 47-48.

4. A'in (tr.) II, 191; Salbancke, Purchas, III, 84; Forster, 149 (Finch).

5. Foster, 149-50 (Finch); Steel & Crowther, Purchas, IV, 266; Mundy, II, 227-28; Manrique, II, 153-54.

After Agra, Gwalior was perhaps the second most important town of the *suba*. The main township was situated on the hill and was surrounded by a stone wall.[1] The walled city contained within it the fort and important dwelling places. The fort served as the principal place of confinement for the princes of royal blood and the high nobles. It was situated on the main route from Agra to the Deccan.

Some other important urban centres, like Kol, Bayana, Khanwa, Khurja, grew into importance due to their situation on main routes or being production centres or marts of local products. They were regularly visited by merchants for the procurement of commodities manufactured there, e.g. Bayana, Khurja and Kol for indigo, and Kol also for saltpetre.[2]

Mathura, situated on the right bank of the Yamuna between Delhi and Agra, was perhaps one of the oldest towns of the *suba*. It owes its pre-eminence for being an ancient place of Hindu pilgrimage. Sometime in the early years of Shah Jahan's reign it was redesignated Islamabad, and later

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1. *Tabqat-i Akbari*, 268; *A'in*, II, 85; Foster, 144-45 (Finch); Mundy, II, 60; Tavernier, I, 62-64.

2. For Bayana see Foster, 151-52 (Finch); Pelsaert, 17; Thevenot, 57; Manrique, II, 152 & e; for Kol, see, Mundy, II, 72, 76; in the *English Factories*, there are large number of references for these places and their products. Also see Chapter on Trade & Commerce.

made a *sarkar* head-quarters. It retained this position until the late years of Aurangzeb's reign, but was thereafter reverted to its old position of *pargana* head-quarters.[1]

Abdun Nabi, *faujdar* of Mathura, in 1661, constructed the Jama Masjid in Mathura, around which the modern township has developed.[2] Mathura also became an imperial mint.[3]

Etawah, though a *pargana* head-quarters, was an important town on the main route of Agra and Patna. In the second half of the 17th century it had become *faujdari* head-quarters.[4] It had several *sarais* to accommodate travellers, and was a busy place where large number of boats were available for river transport.[5] An imperial mint was also established here during the latter half of the 17th century.[6]

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1. In the sarkar list given in the Chahar Gulshan Mathura does not find a place; MSS. 292/62, ff. 53b-54a; MSS. 69, f. 42a; MSS. 87/7, ff. 51b-52a.

2. F.S. Growse, *Mathura: a District Memoir*, 1883, p. 36,153.

3. Aziza Hasan, 'Mints of the Mughal Empire', I.H.C. (Patiala), 1967, p. 333.

4. See *infra*, on administration.

5. Mundy, II, 86-87; also see *infra* on trade and commerce.

6. Aziza Hasan, *op.cit.*, I.H.C. (Patiala), 1967, p. 333.

CHAPTER - II

ADMINISTRATION OF THE SUBA (I)

From the evidence we have, it is apparent that the administration of the suba of Agra was organised largely on the same pattern as the other subas of the Empire, with this difference that when the Emperor was at Agra, no separate governor functioned in the suba.

In this chapter and the following, our effort is directed towards describing the administrative structure of the suba, on the basis, as far as possible, of the evidence belonging to it. Though this might entail repeating or duplicating what is known in respect of suba administration in general, there is yet some benefit to be obtained from establishing that the pattern followed in suba of Agra was the same as elsewhere.

For the sake of convenience, we have organised our descriptions of suba administration according to the different officials in whom the administrative functions were vested. The present Chapter sets out to describe the status, jurisdictions and functions of the suba-level officials, viz., the governor, Divan, Bakhshi, and Sadr, while the next Chapter would be concerned with the other officers, viz., Qila'dar, Faujdar, revenue officials and Qazis.

Governor:

Akbar constituted the suba of Agra in his 24th regnal year[1] by superseding the earlier provinces, usually called sarkars,[2] inherited from the Lodi period. The Governor of the suba was appointed from amongst the high ranking nobles of the Empire. Agra, being the seat of the central government for a considerable period of time, occupied a unique position. The Ain[3] lays down the general principles which the Governors were to follow in performing their duties.

Mughal Governors of Agra have been variously designated names during the 17th century. The chapter in the Ain, dealing with the general principles of his duties is called Ain-i Sipah Salar,[4] but no Governor of Agra was ever called Sipah salar. During Akbar's reign he was given no proper designation either. Whenever a noble was appointed to the charge of the suba only general words are used.[5]

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1. Akbar Nama, III, 282; Ain, II, 48.

2. For these sarkars see Baburnama, 521. After the organisation of subas, the term sarkar began to be applied to the sub-divisions of the suba.

3. Ain., II, 196.

4. Ibid.,II, 196.

5. The words are : nasban (lit. to guard), sipurdah (lit. to protect); see Akbar Nama, III, 467,762.

During Jahangir's reign only one Governor is referred to as *sahib-i suba*.[1] But in Shah Jahan's reign we find him designated by various names, like *nazim*, *subadar*, *hakim*, *haris*.[2] In Aurangzeb's time a governor is invariably termed *nazim* or *subadar*.

In the Appendix A to this Chapter we have compiled a list of all officers who served as Governor of *suba* Agra from the reign of Akbar to the death of Aurangzeb. Their ranks (*mansabs*) at the time they held charge are also given. From this list, certain interesting facts emerge.

The Mughal Emperors did not normally appoint a Governor at Agra when they themselves stayed there. He was appointed only during the absence of the Emperor from the capital city.[3] Therefore, the tenure of office often depended on the period of the Emperor's absence. Sometimes Governors were appointed even for the short periods that the Emperor went out on hunting.[4] In case of the death of a Governor, or during the period when the new incumbent was on his way to assume charge, interim Governors were appointed for the

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1. *Tuzuk*, 344.

2. Lahori, II, 369, 427, III, 76; II, 130, 215, 234,407 &c.

3. See *Tuzuk*, 344, 369, 376; *Dutch Chronicle*, 57,74,77-8; Lahori, II, 110, 130, &c.

4. Lahori, II, 20.

intervening period.[1]

Even during the period of Emperor's absence from Agra no set pattern was followed as for the tenure of a Governor is concerned. The longest stay in office, perhaps comes from Akbar's reign, the Governor's term being spread over a period of seven years.[2] The longest continuous tenures of a Governor during the reigns of Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb are approximately, 5 years,[3] 2¼ years[4] and 6 years[5] respectively. On the other hand, Governors sometimes stayed in office for a period as short as about 5 months.[6]

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1. Lahori, II, 241, Raja Bithal Das was appointed on the death of Wazir Khan, in the 14th regnal year of Shah Jahan. In another instance Lahori (Vol. II, p. 407) refers to the appointment of Raja Jaswant Singh, in the 18th regnal year till Shaikh Farid took charge.

2. Shah Quli Khan remained in office from 36th to 43rd regnal year; see Akbar Nama, III, 744, 795.

3. Khwaja Jahan occupied the governorship from 8th to 13th regnal year; see Tuzuk, 123, 125,160,260,267,278,325.

4. For Azam Khan as governor between October 1634 and December 1636, see Lahori, II, 76, 105.

5. See Akhbarat for 48th to 51st regnal years of Aurangzeb for Mukhtar Khan as Governor of the suba Agra.

6. See Appendix A for Muzaffar Khan (Jahangir's reign), Khwaja Jahan (Shah Jahan's reign) and Mukhtar Khan (Aurangzeb's 39th regnal year).

After the formation of the *suba* Akbar did not leave the charge in the hands of a single person for some time; instead he appointed two persons to jointly look after the affairs of the *suba*.[1] The practice of leaving the administration in the hands of a single person started only from his 36th regnal year (1591); this was continued by his successors. Even during the periods when the charge was in the hands of a single person, nobles of very high rank were stationed at Agra.

During the period when Agra was the imperial capital governorships were assigned to high *mansabdars* only; the only exception being that of Namdar Khan, appointed in 1649, who held the rank of 1,000/200.[2] During the reign of Aurangzeb *mansabdars* of comparatively lower ranks were often appointed to this office. Till 1648 (as long as Agra was the imperial capital) the lowest *zat* rank of a governor was 3,000, except that of Namdar Khan. In the second phase (1648-1707) we have instances when a Governor's *zat* rank was 2,500 or 2,000

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1. Shaikh Ibrahim and some other officials were appointed in August 1585 (*Akbarnama*, III, 467). Similarly, from 1586 to 1591 Shaikh Ibrahim and Raja Askaran were made in-charge of Agra; see *Akbar Nama*, III, 510-11, 596.

2. *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, III, 830.

or even as low as 1,500.[1]

During the first period governors looked exclusively after the office of Governor, and only in a few cases were assigned the post of Castellan (qila'dari) of Agra Fort.[2] But during the second period (particularly in Aurangzeb's reign) it became common for the Governor of Agra to hold the faujdari of the environs of Agra, and still later the faujdari of Mathura, Hindaun, and Kama Pahari.[3] It appears that with the shift of capital to Shahjahanabad (Delhi), and still more after Aurangzeb's departuer for the Deccan in 1681, Agra lost its importance to some extent. It is also likely that for greater efficiency and to meet the challenge of the Jats in this region it became important that the faujdari of Agra as well as Mathura and its neigbbourhood should be assigned to the same person.

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1. Abdullah Khan, 2,000/1,500 (Akhbarat, Rajab, 24 R.Y.); Sarbuland Khan, 2,500/1,500 (Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, 118); Itiqad Khan, 2,500/1,500 (Akhbarat, Shaban 44 R.Y.); Muhtasham Khan Mir Ibrahim, 1,500/400 (Ma'asir-ul Umara); III, 647) & c.

2. Itibar Khan Khwaja Sara was also qila'dar and in-charge of imperial treasury in 17th regnal year of Jahangir (Tuzuk, 344, 369, 375. Raja Bithaldas, interim governor in 14th regnal year of Shah Jahan, was also qila'dar of Agra Fort (Ma'asir ul Umara, I).

3. Hoshdar Khan held the faujdari of Agra in 8th R.Y. of Aurangzeb (Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, 80); Abdullah Khan (or Ibadullah Khan) also held the faujdari of Agra in 24th R.Y. (Akhbarat for the months of Rajab and Sha'aban). According to Ma'asir-i Alamgiri (p. 351), Shaista Khan Amir-ul Umara, in 36th R.Y. held the faujdari of Agra (Continued on next page...)

Accordingly there are numerous instances as well, when we find that the *faujdari* of Agra was assigned to the sons of the Governors of Agra.[1] Some times the *mansabs* of the sons of the governors were raised presumably because of assignment of some duties to them though we have no knowledge of these duties.[2]

All the proceedings at the court of the Governor were recorded by officials; and these were regularly reported to the Emperor. For the periods of Jahangir and Shah Jahan such detailed information is not available. The *Akhbarat* (news-letters) from Aurangzeb's court, however, refer frequently to the official reports (waqa'i) received from Agra. From these reports it transpises that the Governor

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(Continued from previous page...)

as well. Itiqad Khan, held the *faujdari* of Hindaun in 44th R.Y., and then secured the *faujdari* of Mathura and Kama Pahari next year, i.e. 45th R.Y.(*Akhbarat*); Mukhtar Khan, who held the *faujdari* of Agra in 46th R.Y. (*Akhbarat*), was also assigned the *faujdari* of Mangotalah in 48th R.Y. (*Akhbarat*).

1. Himanat Khan Mir Isa, son of Islam Khan Badakhshi in 6th R.Y. of Aurangzeb (*Ma'asir-ul Umara*, III, 946); Mukhtar Khan's son, Iftiqar Khan became *faujdar* of Agra on 5 Jam-I, 38 R.Y. (*Akhbarat*).

2. Ibadullah's son in Rajab 24 R.Y. (*Akhbarat*), Shaista Khan's son on 12 Rabi II, 36 R.Y.,Mir Nuruddin, son of Fidai Khan, 6 Jam, I, 38 R.Y., and 30 Z'hij, 38 R.Y.; Mohammad Salih, son of Itiqad Khan, Shawwal, 43 R.Y. (*Akhbarat*).

held his court regularly where all kinds of petitions were heard; either some kind of decision was taken or the petitions were forwarded to the Emperor with the Governor's recommendations.

The primary function of the Governor was to maintain law and order. He was required to deal effectively with the recalcitrant elements.

The _Akhbarat_ refer in this connection to numerous of complaints about the high handedness of the officials, as also to local disturbances. Whatever might be the nature of these complaints they were recorded in the _waqa'i_ and transmitted to the Emperor. Some of the complaints against Raja Bishan Singh, _faujdar_ of Mathura, are interesting. One Ibrahim and Lal Chand complained to the Governor that though they had duly paid the _rahdari_ and _chawkidari_ on their cows, and yet Bishen Singh's _gumashta_ had taken away their cows from them. At the imperial court Bishan Singh's _wakil_ was asked to write to his master about it.[1] Some other complaints are also recorded against the officials of Raja Bishen Singh and he was time and again warned to keep them under control.[2]

1. _Miscelleneous Documents_......Transcript No. 85, p. 44, dated 9 Safar, 37 R.Y.

2. Transcript No. 85, p. 55, 15 Safar, 38 R.Y.; also _Akhbarat_ of 9 Safar 37 R.Y.

On one occassion when an official, belonging to <u>suba</u> Agra and posted elsewhere, took to wrong doing, the Governor of Agra was asked to arrest members of his family.[1] Again, when Abdullah Khan, chobdar of Ajmer, plundered 4,000 rupees from a <u>jagirdar</u>, a complaint was lodged with the Emperor, who asked the governor of Agra to depute an official for recovery of the plundered sum. Presumably Abdullah Khan was by this time posted in <u>suba</u> Agra. When an official of a deceased noble refused to hand over any building or property, belonging to the deceased noble, action was taken against him by the Governor.[2]

Similarly, in case of rebellions within the <u>suba</u>, or plundering raids organised from within the <u>suba</u> into the limits of another, the Governor was obliged to depute troops to chastise the guilty.[3] Re-enforcements were sent if the forces locally stationed proved insufficient.[4]

The Governor had the authority to appoint subordinate officials to maintain law and order.[5] Such appointments were

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1. See <u>Akhbarat</u>, 18 Safar, 43 R.Y., for such a request from the Governor of Burhanpur.

2. <u>Akhbarat</u>, 3 Shabban, 48 R.Y.

3. See <u>Akhbarat</u>, 9 Safar, 37 R.Y., when Afghans from the neighbourhood of Badaun were employed, by a <u>gumashta</u> of one of the imperial officials, to harass the people.

4. <u>Akhbarat</u>, 14 Safar, 37 R.Y.; 25 Rabi I, 37 R.Y.

5. <u>Ain</u>., II, 195.

however, reported to the Emperor.[1] In case of any inconsistency with Imperial policy an appointment could be cancelled.[2]

Appointment to higher positions and assignment of *jagirs* were outside the jurisdiction of the Governor. He could make recommendation (*tajwiz*) to the Emperor in favour of any person.[3] Minor award [redacted] about the grant of a title, award of a new *mansab*, or a small increase in the *mansab*,[4] were also made on his recommendations.

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1. Transcript No. 85, p. 56; *Akhbarat* of 19 Safar 38 R.Y., refers about the appointment of *thanadars* of *tappa* Zafarnagar Shamsabad and *pargana* Dholpur.

2. *Akhbarat*, 11 Safar, 36 R.Y. It seems that the employment of Mewatis in responsible positions was viewd with disfavour. Thus when the report was received of Shaista Khan's appointment of Mewatis to check dacoity and waylaying in Agra, on a conditional basis (*mashrut*), the Governor, was asked to re-instate the earlier foot-soldiers (*pyadaha*), and dismiss the Mewatis. He was told that he could keep these Mewatis in his personal service, if he so chose.

3. *Akhbarat*, 7 Ramzan, 38 R.Y., where Governor of Agra recommended that Khwaja Muhammad Sharif, whose *jagir* had been transferred, be allowed to keep that *jagir*. It was accepted. *Akhbarat*, 2 Zilhij, 38 R.Y., and 15 Shawwal, 46 R.Y., report recommendations about the *faujdaris* of comparatively minor places. In *Akhbarat*, Z'qad, 44 R.Y., it is reported that the Governor himself wanted the simulteneous charge of a *faujdari*. All these recommendations were accepted by the Emperor.

4. See *Akhbarat*, 27 Safar, 36 R.Y., for the title of Khan; *Akhbarat*, 25 Rabi II, 37R.Y.; of 8 Safar, 38 R.Y. (September, 1693), Ramzan, 51 R.Y. For grant of a new *mansab*, and increase in *mansab*.

The Governor was expected to maintain contingents up to the required standard. For failure to report Mukhtar Khan's fault in not maintaining his standard contingents, the Bakhshi-and-waqa'i nigar of the suba was dismissed. If necessary an enquiry was instituted against the Governor. In Mukhtar Khan's own case, it led ultimately to his dismissal.[1]

The Diwan :

After dividing the empire into subas, in 1582, Akbar took some time in devising the structure of the suba-administration. In 1586[2] he instituted the office of a diwan, in charge of revenue, independent of the Governor, besides other offices of equal importance, largely independent of each other. Though names of these officials to serve as diwans in various subas were recommended at this time, the actual appointment of diwans was only made in 1595.[3]

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1. Akhbarat, 11 Rajab, 45 R.Y.; Mukhtar Khan's sawar rank was reduced. When another report was made against him, the Emperor instituted an enquiry. Mukhtar Khan not only lost the governorship but was also deprived of the faujdari of Mathura (see Akhbarat, 24 Muharram, 46 R.Y., and 25 Shawwal, 46 R.Y.).

2. Akbar Nama, III, 511, at this time the name of one Muhibb Ali was recommended for suba Agra.

3. Akbar Nama, III, 670; at the time of actual appointment, the diwani of Agra was assigned to Keshav Das.

The *divan* was appointed by the Emperor on the advice of the central *divan*. He held independent financial charge of the *suba*, and was in no way subordinate to the *subadar*.[1] At the same time, the *divan* assisted the Governor in the disposal of revenue cases and allied complaints in the *kachahri*.[2]

P. Saran has already offered a survey of the functions of the provincial *diwans*, which is mainly based on the *Mirat-i Ahmadi*.[3] Similar details are also contained in the letters and documents in the *Nigarnama-i Munshi*.[4] The documents in the latter work emphasises that a *diwan* should give easy access to a cultivator for knowing the correct state of affairs, at the same time instructing him not to entertain local revenue officials in private; that he should ascertain the position of cultivation and exert himself through the *amils*, for the extension and improvement in it; should obtain detailed cultivator-wise *jama* statistics from the *amin*, which *karoris* should collect in time; and if the

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1. P. Saran, 175.

2. *Akhbarat*, Ramzan 37 R.Y.; Safar 38 R.Y. & c. of Aurangzeb; also see Irfan Habib, 295.

3. P. Saran, 175-77.

4. *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, 99-102.

realization was not full, the balance was to be realized in three instalments.[1] At the time of his tours he should see the actual position of cultivation and check it with the village records. In case of descrepencies the guilty officials were to be punished. He should direct the *amins* and *amils*, in case of natural calamity, to fix the *jama* in consultation with village officials, taking into account the damage to the crops. He was to direct the *fotadar* (treasurer) of the local treasuries to accept the Alamgiri coins (i.e. current coins). The *diwan* also acted as auditor of the accounts of the revenue collection in the *suba*. He was empowered to check the records of local revenue officials, *amins*, *amils* and *fotadars*, and take suitable action, including their suspension, and report the matter to the central *diwan* sending along the necessary documents. The *diwan* had the control over the *suba* treasury, and took out money on the instructions of the emperor.[2]

No evidence, which could throw light on functions specific to the *diwan* of *suba* Agra , has been obtained. However, we can make a list of persons who occupied this office

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1. *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, 99-102.
2. *Akhbarat*, Z'hij 43 A.Y. of Aurangzeb.

in *suba* Agra during the period under study. This is given in Appendix B to the Chapter.

The appendix is not likely to be complete except, perhaps, for the reign of Shah Jahan. For Jahangir's entire reign we have no information as to who occupied the office, and for how long a period; for Aurangzeb's reign only stray reference are found.

From the above list, such as it is, it appears that no set pattern was followed as to how long a person could occupy the office. Even if we take the reign of Shah Jahan, where we have almost complete information, we find that the individual term ranged from a minimum period of 5 months to a maximum of 7 years. Some times a person received promotion to some other department[1]; on another occasion he was transferred to set things right in some other suba or a prince's *jagir*[2]; but most of the time the reasons for the transfer are not given.

The highest *mansab* was held by Aqa Afzal, viz.

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1. Mukramat Khan was given charge of *diwan-i bayutat* and some other departments, and then was transferred to the Deccan as *Mir-i saman*; see Lahori, III, 125; *M.U.* III, 460-1.

2. Aqa Afzal was transferred to look after *suba* Bengal and Prince Shuja's *jagir* there. So also was Rai Kasidas. See Lahori, II, 285, 606.

1,500/600,[1] while the lowest was 300/50.[2] It appears that for those officials who were not assigned any military duty or who were not made responsible for maintaining law and order, the award of sawar mansab was a mere formality.[3]

We know practically nothing about the salary received by the diwans. Though the functions and powers were the same for all those who held the office, their mansabs, as we have seen, varied greatly.[4] No conditional or mashrut mansab is mentioned in connexion with the office. It is also not clear if their jagirs, which were granted in lieu of salary,[5] lay within the suba.

A separate diwan was appointed for khalsa territories Thus, in 1592 A.D. Rai Ram Das was appointed diwan-i khalisa of Agra, Allahabad, Bihar and Bengal.[6] Whether this system of attaching several subas to a single diwan-i khalisa,

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1. Lahori, II, 230.

2. Akhbarat, Shawwal 25 R.Y. of Aurangzeb.

3. Shaikh Abdul Karim Thanesari, who was appointed diwan towards the close of Shah Jahan's reign, held a mansab of 800/800, though his madad-i ma'ash grant was valued at 5 lac rupees; Waris, 359.

4. This point is further strengthened from the case of governors and other officials, who were awarded different mansabs while holding the same office.

5. Irfan Habib, 283 n.

6. Akbar Nama, III, 605.

continued; or was abolished in 1595 A.D. with the appointment of *diwans* for individual *subas*, is not clear. Towards the close of Aurangzeb's reign we come across the names of two persons designated as *diwan-i khalisa* of the *suba* Agra,[1] which suggests that some time during the 17th century this department was reorganised. The *diwan* had several sub-ordinates to assist him in the management of the *khalisa*.[2]

It is difficult to trace the racial or clan origin of those who held the office of *diwan* at Agra; and it is, therefore, difficult to establish whether the Iranis, usually regarded as financiers, held a high proportion of these offices. Rather surprisingly, only 3 out of the 20 *diwans* known are Hindus. It appears that since the office required training in accountancy, those who were assigned the work of the diwani in the *suba* or *khalisa* were quite often professional accountants.

The Bakhshi :

A major step in organising the *suba* administration was taken up by Akbar with the creation of the office of *bakhshi* in 1582.[3] The first recorded appointment took place

1. *Akhbarat*, 8 Ramzan 40 R.Y. of Aurangzeb; name of the officials were Rashid Khan and Mu'atmad Khan.

2. Murshid Quli Khan was naib(deputy) to Rashid Khan, *Akhbarat* 8 Ramzan 40 R.Y. of Aurangzeb.

3. *Akbar Nama*, III, 282.

in 1586 when Hakim Ain-ul Mulk was appointment to this post at Agra.[1] It is not known if Ain-ul Mulk went to Agra immediately to look after the affairs of the suba, or some delay took place, and some one else got the job in actual practice as was the case with the diwan.[2]

The bakhshi was appointed at the recommendation of the bakhshi-ul Mulk (the Central Bakhshi), was his representative at the suba headquarters, and was directly responsible to him.[3]

It appears that Akbar had appointed a person to the single office of the bakhshi only; later on several other offices were attached to the post of bakhshi of the suba. When the additional offices were combined is difficult to ascertain.[4] From the beginning of the reign of Shah Jahan onwards the bakhshi seems also to have been the waqa'i-navis ex-officio.[5] Some times one or more from amongst the

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1. Akbar Nama, III, 511.

2. See ~~infra~~. infra.

3. See P. Saran, The Provincial Government......, pp.182-3.

4. Tuzuk, 120-1; while discussing the merits of the creation of the office of waqa'i navis Jahangir does not say if this office was attached to that of the bakhshi.

5. See, Lahori, II, 369; II, 491; Waris, 244; and Akhbarat of Aurangzeb's reign.

office of *beyutat*,[1] *darogha-i imarat*,[2] *mir bahare*[3] (Comptroller of River Tolls) were conferred on the *bakhshi*.

The main duty of the *bakhshi* was to see to the maintenance of the required strength of troopers by *mansabdars* posted in the *suba*. In case any discrepancy in the required strength was found, the *bakhshi* was required to report the matter to the central *bakhshi* for suitable action. Failure to do so led to his punishment as well.[4] Thus it became necessary that the *bakhshi* should also be made *waqa'i navis* or head of the news reporters as well. All the *waqa'i* were actually sent to the *bakhshi-ul muluk* who then placed them before the Emperor.

The *bakhshi's* subordinates, *waqa'i nigars*,[5] collected informations from the various departments and localities and these were compiled and reported to the centre. He attended the court of the governor and included in his *waqa'i* a statement of what transpired there.[6]

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1. Lahori, II, 369. See separate section on *Diwan-i Bayutat*.
2. *Ibid*., III, 76; II, 491.
3. *Ibid*., II, 491.
4. *Akhbarat*, 8 Jam. II, 46 R.Y.(November, 1700); when the bakhshi failed to report the short fall in the required strength of contingent of Mukhtar Khan, the governor, he was removed from the post (see *supra*).
5. *Akhbarat*, 22 Ramzan, 40 R.Y. (April, 1696); 16 Shawwal, 40 R.Y. (May, 1696); 14 Muharram, 48 R.Y. (May, 1703).
6. See *Akhbarat*.

As in the case of the *divans*, it is difficult to work out the tenures of the *bakhshis*. (See Appendix C for our effort). While during the reign of Shah Jahan we find that one person stayed for as long as 11 years[1] and another about 5 years;[2] during Aurangzeb's reign within 3 or 4 months three persons were appointed and then transferred.[3]

The appointment of a *bakhshi* to accompany an expedition was for a specific purpose and for the period of that particular expedition only. Such appointees had nothing to do with the *suba* administration.

Though we have very little information about the *mansabs* of the *bakhshi*, it can be said that their *mansabs* were usually not high. The reasons for Mukramat Khan holding a comparatively higher *mansab*[4] may be due to his association with Mahabat Khan with whom he had started his career after coming to India.[5]

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1. Lahori, III, 76; II, 491.

2. Lahori, II, 491; Waris, 244.

3. *Akhbarat*, 7 and 19 Muharram, 48 R.Y. (May, 1703) and 2 Rabi II, 48 R.Y. (August, 1703).

4. See Lahori, II, 347; III, 101; his *mansab* was increased to 1,000/400 in January 1631, and again to 1,500/600 in June 1631.

5. *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, III, 460.

Diwan-i Bayutat:

Agra being the capital of the Empire, it contained a large royal establishment. The Ain provides an exhaustive list of the departments, stores and stables which were part of this establishment.[1] The Diwan-i Bayutat was responsible for the expenditure for its maintenance out of the royal income derived from the revenues of the khalisa. It is not clear whether the Diwan-i Bayutat was a suba official, but he seems always to have resided at Agra. He held his appointment by an imperial order.

Though this office existed under Akbar and Jahangir we have no information about the incumbents. The list of persons who occupied this position under Shah Jahan is, more or less, complete. During Aurangzeb's reign our information again becomes very scanty (see Appendix D).

It appears that generally the tenure was less than two years during Shah Jahan's reign.[2] The mansabs were

1. See respective Ains on arms and ammunition, elephants, horses etc., buildings, royal functions & c. in Ain, I.

2. Mukramat Khan seems to had been an exception due to his association with Mahabat Khan, and had military capabilities as we find that he accompanied the expedition, against Jujhar Singh Bundela, while in office; see Lahori, I ii, 119, 120-21.

comparatively higher than the Diwans and Bakhshis of the suba, particularly in respect of zat rank.

In the early years of Aurangzeb's reign the office is still designated Diwan-i Beyutat. Later on he is simply called Beyutat.[1]

It is interesting to find that Iranis held this office during practically the entire reign of Shah Jahan, except for one non-Muslim whose period of tenure can not be ascertained.

The Sadr :

One major source of support of scholarly and theological classes in India has been the grants of land and cash pensions conferred on them by the state. Akbar reorganised the administrative department under the charge of Sadr-us sudur, to look after these grants.[2] The grants and pensions were collectively known as sayurghal.[3] The major part of sayurghal consisted of madad-i ma'ash or grants of

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1. Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, 98; Akhbarat, 11 Ramzan, 37 R.Y., 26 Shaban, 39 R.Y., 19 Ramzan, 40 R.Y., 1 Jam, II,43 R.Y.

2. Ibn Hasan, Chapter VIII; Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System ...., pp. 298-99.

3. Ain., I, 198-9.

lands, which are dealt with in our chapter on Revenue Grants.

Even before the formation of the _subas_, Akbar, in his 26th regnal year, dispensed with the single office of _Sadru-s Sudur_, appointed _sadrs_ over different regions. He appointed Shah Abul Faiz Faizi as _Sadr_ of Agra, Kalpi and Kanauj,[1] this being the area later to be covered ~~rongly~~ roughly by the _suba_ of Agra. But it appears that Akbar soon reverted to the old position[2] and restored the single office of the central _Sadr_ or _Sadru-s Sudur_. His representatives or subordinates at the _suba_ and _pargana_ levels were respectively called _sadr_ and _mutavalli_.[3]

From Lahori[4] it would appear that _Sadru-s Sudur_ himself looked after the grants in the suba of Agra. In the 16th regnal year when the _Sadru-s Sudur_ ~~Shah Jahan~~ was informed of the corrupt practices of his predecessor he ordered the verification of all grants. For these verifications grantees were asked to approach their respective

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1. _Akbar Nama_, III, 372.

2. Ibn Hasan, _op.cit._, 263-64.

3. Lahori, II, 365-66; _Tazkiratu-l Muttaqin_, II, 180-81, Irfan Habib, _op.cit._, 298-99.

4. Lahori, II, 365-66.

Sadr-i juzv ('sub-sadrs') of their suba: but in suba Agra the grants were to be verified by the Sadru-s Sudur himself.[1] The reasons for not appointing a sadr-i juzv in suba Agra was presumably because it was the capital, where the central offices were located. When the capital was shifted to Shahjahanabad (Delhi), a sadr-i juzv in suba Agra came to be appointed.[2]

The available documents throw some light on the procedures of awards of grants and their subsecuent confirmations. But we have no evidence as to how a 'needy' person petitioned before the Emperor for the award of a grant, and precisely what role was played by the Sadru-s sudur or his subordinates. From a large number of madad-i ma'ash grant (documents of pargana Bilhaur and Shamsabad[3], sarkar Kanauj), it would appear that the Sadru-s sudur provide the conduit through which the representation and grant thereon were processed; but the grant was actually made by an imperial order or farman issued in favour of the grantee. Alongwith the farman the Sadru-s Sudur issued a parwana, making a

1. ~~He is referred to in~~ Lahori, II, 365-66.
2 Tazkiratu-l Muttaqin, II, 180-81.

3. Photo-copies in the Seminar Library, Department of History, A.M.U. Aligarh, hitherto referred as 'Shamsabad Documents.'

reference to the imperial _farman_.[1] Upon death of the original grantee, his heirs ordinarily petitioned the _Sadru-s sudur_ for the confirmation of the grant in their favour. Before a confirmatory letter was issued the _Sadru-s sudur_ had to check and ensure that the petitioners were the real heirs of the deceased grantee, and were in actual possession of the land of the grant. In the confirmatory letter these particulars were also incorporated.[2] Presumably, whenever Agra had a _sadr-i juzv_, he reported on these matters to the _Sadru-s Sudur_ and carried out inspections on his behalf.

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1. Shamsabad Document Nos. 10, 46, etc.

2. _Ibid._, Nos. 20, 65, 72, etc; also see '_Sadr's tasdiqa_', Mss. No. 36 of the Seminar Library, Department of History, A.M.U. Aligarh; _Nigarnama-i Munshi_, 91.

APPENDIX - A

Governors of *suba* Agra

S.No.	Name	Known period From	Known period To	Mansab	Other Assignments	Sources
1.	Shaikh Ibrahim & others	Aug. 1585	-	2000 *zat*	-	*Akbarnama*, III, 467
2.	Shaikh Ibrahim & Raja Askaran	Nov. 1586	-	2000 *zat* 1000 *zat*	-	*Ibid*., III, 510-11. Ibid
3.	Shah Quli Khan	Aug. 1591	-	4000 *zat*	-	*Ibid*., III, 596, 605, 744.
4.	Qulij Khan	Sept. 1599	-	4500 *zat*	-	*Ibid*., III, 762, 795.
5.	Khwaja Jahan	Sept. 1614	Dec. 1618	4000/2500	*Qila'dar*, Incharge Treasury, *Faujdar* Agra.	*Tuzuk*, 123, 125, 160, 260.
6.	Lashkar Khan	Feb. 1620	1620-21	4000/2500	*Faujdar* Agra.	*Ibid*., 267, 278, 325-6.
7.	Muzaffar Khan	1621	March 1622	-	-	*Ibid*., 336-7, 314.
8.	Itibar Khan, *alias* Mumtaz Khan	March 1622	1623-4	6000/5000	*Qiladar*, in-charge Treasury.	*Ibid*., 344, 359, 375.
9.	Muqarab Khan	1623-4	1625	-	-	*Ibid*., 375, 394; *Zakhirat-ul Khawanin*, f. 94a.

.......(11)

10. Qasim Khan	1625		4000/2000		Ibid.,394.
11. Muzaffar Khan	1626-7				Ibid.,409.
12. Qasim Khan	1627				Ibid.,426.
13. Wazir Khan	Nov.1627		5000/3000		Lahori,Ii,243.
14. Islam Khan	Dec.1628	March 1631	4000/4000		Ibid.,291,368-69.
15. Safdar Khan	March,1631	May,1632	3000/2000		Ibid.,368-9, 427.
16. Saiyid Khan Jahan		March, 1635	5000/5000 x 2-3h.		Ibid.,Iii, 76.
17. Azam Khan	Aug,1635		6000/6000		Ibid., 105.
18. Saif Khan	Dec,1636	Jan.1638			Ibid., 234;II,10.
	Feb.1638	Jan.1639			Ibid.,II,19-20,110-130.
19. Safdar Khan	Jan.1639	Nov.1640			Ibid., 130,215.
20. Wazir Khan	Nov.1640	Aug.1641	5000/5000		Ibid.,215,241.
21. Raja Bithaldas	Aug.1641			Qila'dar Agra	Ibid., 241.
22. Saiyid Khan Jahan	Oct.1643	Dec.1643			Ibid.,344,349.
23. Raja Jaswant Singh	Jan.1645	March, 1645			Ibid.,407,418.
24. Shaikh Farid	March,1645		3000/1500		Ibid., 418.

25. Shaista Khan	Nov. 1657	Jan. 1658	7000/7000x 2-3h		*Alamgirnama*,226,294.
26. Mukhlis Khan	Jan. 1658	Aug. 1659	2500/700		*Ibid.*,294,433.
27. Saif Khan	Aug.1659	May, 1660	2500/1500		*Ibid*, 433,481.
28. Wazir Khan	May,1660	April,1663	5000/5000		*Ibid.*,481,564,741,759,823.
29. Islam Khan	April,1663	Sept.1663	5000/3000		*Ibid.*,823,833-9.
30. Hoshdar Khan	Sept.1663	Feb.1665	4000/4000	*Faujdar* Agra	*Ibid.*,842,871,883-4,937; *Ma'asir-i Alamgiri*, 50.
31.		Oct.1665		*Qiladar* Agra	*Ibid.*, 978.
31. Namdar Khan	Nov.1670	April,1671	4000/3000		*Ma'asir-i Alamgiri*,112,113.
32. Sarbuland Khan	April,1671	Oct.1671			*Ibid.*,118,120.
33. Himmat Khan	Oct.1671	April,1673	3000 *zat*	*Faujdar* Agra	*Ibid.*,120,132.
34. Mu'tamad Khan	April,1673			*Qiladar* Agra	*Ibid.*, 132.
35. Hasan Ali Khan	April,1676	June,1677	3500/2500		*Ibid.*,158,168.
36. Shaista Khan	June,1677	Sept.1678	7000/7000X 2-3h		*Ibid.*,168,181.
37. Safi Khan	Sept.1678		3000/1200		*Ibid.*, 181.

... (iv)

38. Ibadullah Khan	Aug. 1680		2000/1900	Faujdar Agra.	Akhbarat, Rajab, 24 R.Y. Shaban, 24 R.Y.
39. Muhtashim Khan		Aug., 1684	1500/1000		Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, 246.
40. Safi Khan	Aug., 1684		3000/1200		Ibid., 246.
41. Shaista Khan	Oct., 1691	March 1693 (Died)	7000/7000X 2-3h	Faujdar Mathura.	Akhbarat, 11 safar, 21, 22 Rabi II, 21 Shaban, 36 RY 25 Rabi I, 12 Ramzan, 2 Shaban 37 R.Y..
42. Fidai Khan	July, 1693	July, 1694			Akhbarat, Z'hij, 37 R.Y. Z'hij, 38 R.Y.
43. Mukhtar Khan	May, 1695				Akhbarat, 14 Shawwal, 39 RY
44. Itiqad Khan	March, 1696	June 1700	2500/2500 X2-3h	Faujdar, Hindaun Mathura, Kama-Pahari	Akhbarat, Ramzan, 40 R.Y. 18 Safar, 8 Rajab, 43 R.Y. Safar, shaban, z'qad, 44 R.Y.; Muharram 45 R.Y.
45. Mukhtar Khan	Nov. 1700	Nov. 1706	3000/2500X 2-3h	Faujdar Mathura.	Akhbarat, 9 Jam. I, 11 Rajab 45 R.Y.; 24 Muharram, 11 Jam. II, 15 Shawwal, 46 R.Y.; Rabi I, 47 R.Y.; Shaban, Z'qad, 48 R.Y.; Rajab, 49 R.Y.; Ramzan, 51 R.Y.; Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri, 498.

APPENDIX - B

Divans of suba Agra

S.No.	Name	Period From	Period To	Tenure	Mansab	Source
1.	Muhibb Ali	1585-86	1594-95	10 Years		Akbar Nama, III,511,670.
2.	Kesodas	1594-95				
3.	Mukramat Khan	March,1631			1000/400	Lahori, II,347,368.
4.	Aqa Afzal	April,1641	March 1642	1 Year	1500/600	Ibid., II,230,285.
5.	Rai Kasidas	March,1642	Oct.1646	4 Yrs. 7 months		Ibid.,285,606.
6.	Shaikh Abdul Karim	Oct.1646	June 1653	6 Yrs. 10 months		Ibid.,606;Waris,2[illegible]5.
7.	Muhammad Amin	June,1653	Nov.1653	5 months		Waris,235,246.
8.	Ali Naqi	Nov.1654	Sept.1656	1 Year 10 months		Ibid.,246,359.
9.	Abdul Karim Thanesari	Sept.1656			800/800	Ibid.,359.
10.	Haji Muhammad Sayeed	Jan.1658				Alamgir Nama,294.

....(ii)

.. (11)

11. Rai Bhagwati Das	Dec. 1658			*Alamgir Nama*,454.
12. Kifayat Khan		Sept.1662		*Ibid*., 339.
13. Mir Mahdi Yazdi	Sept.1662		1000/100	*Ibid*., 339,964.
14. Saiyid Azimullah		Oct.1681		*Akhbarat*,Shawwal,25 R.Y.
15. Mir Mughis	Oct,1681		300/50	*Ibid*.
16. Muhammad Ali		April 1696		*Akhbarat*,18 Ramzan,40 R.Y.
17. Amanat Khan		June 1696		*Akhbarat*,9 Z'qad,40 R.Y.
18. Muhammad Irfan	June 1696			*Ibid*.
19. Shamsuddin Khan		July,1702		*Akhbarat*,6 Rabi I,47 R.Y.
20. Zia Ullah	July,1702			*Ibid*.

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APPENDIX - C

Bakhshis of the Suba Agra

S. No.	N a m e	Known period	Mansabs	Sources
1.	Hakim Ain-ul Mulk	1586		Akbarnama, III, 511
2.	Mukramat Khan	March 1631	1500/600	Lahori, II, 347, 369, 428.
3.	Mir Abdul Karim	Feb. 1635 March 1646.		Lahori, II, 76; II, 491.
4.	Matlab, s. o. Mu'tmad Khan	March 1646- Dec. 1650		Ibid., II, 491; Waris, 244.
5.	Ghaziuddin Sanjar	Dec. 1650		Waris, 244.
6.	Rahmat Ullah	Oct. 1693		Akhbarat, 7 Rabi I, 38 R.Y.
7.	Muhammad Muin	May 1703		Akhbarat, 7 Muharram, 48 R.Y.
8.	Saifullah	May 1703		Ibid.
9.	Khwaja Habib Ullah	Aug. 1703		Akhbarat, 2 Rabi II, 48 R.Y.

APPENDIX - D

Diwan -i Beyutat.

Sl. No.	Name	Period From	Period To	Mansab	Sources
1.	Mukramat Khan	1627-28	Sept. 1633	1500/600	Lahori, II, 347, 428, 543 Ma'asir-ul Umara, III, 460-1.
2.	Qazi Muhammad Sayeed. Karharodi.	Sept. 1633	March 1635	1000/200	Lahori, II, 543; III, 87.
3.	Mukramat Khan	March 1635	Aug. 1637	2000/1500	Ibid., 87, 101; II, 103.
4.	Multaft Khan	Aug. 1637	Feb. 1639		Ibid., 103, 142.
5.	Inayat Ullah, alias Azam Khan	Feb. 1639	Sept. 1641	1500/400	Ibid., 142, 200, 244, 45.
6.	Rai Rayan	Sept. 1641			Ibid., 24 -45.
7.	Nuruddin, s. o. Fateh Ullah	Sept. 1653			Waris, 240.
8.	Muhammad Saleh Kirmani.	1658			Alamgirnama, 221.
9.	Hakim Nuruddin	April 1658			Ibid., 344.
10.	Mir Husain, s. o. Mir Haider	May, 1693		300/20	Akhbarat, 11 Ramzan, 37 R.Y.

CHAPTER - III

ADMINISTRATION OF THE SUBA (II)

In this Chapter we continue the description of the main officials of the suba, passing from the major officers at the capital, to officials who were posted not only at the capital but also in other localities. The status and nature of all these officers varied considerably; and this variation makes it impossible to decide firmly any purely hierarchial arrangement in treating them. However, we have tried to deal first with military and police officials, then with judicial, and, finally, with those concerned with revenue realization.

The Qila'dars:

In the 'Description of the Twelve Subas' Abul Fazl has provided a full column for forts in different parganas distinguishing them according as they were made of stone or brick, and ignoring ordinarily the mud forts. Of these the fort of Gwalior was in imperial possession from the beginning, while that of Alwar was taken in the later years of Aurangzeb's reign. In all probability other forts or fortresses were left in the possession of the zamindars of the locality. The forts of Agra and Fatehpur Sikri were built by Akbar and were places of imperial residence. The 'stone' fort of Fatehpur Sikri lost is importance as it could remain

imperial residence for a very brief period during Akbar's reign. Moreover, by construction it was a walled enclosure rather than a true fort like that of Agra. The fort of Agra remained important throughout the 17th century, though the capital was shifted to Shahjahanabad (Delhi) in the second half of the 17th century. It was the main repository of imperial treasure. The fort next in importance in the *suba* was that of Gwalior. This was used as an imperial prison; princes and grandees of status were incarcerated here. Both these forts had commandants or castellans (*qila'dars*).

In the highly centralised administration of the Mughals the appointment of *qila'dars* too was made by the Emperor. The *Ain* does not specify the duties of the *qila'dars*. From stray evidence it would appear that his major duty was to keep the fortifications and war like stores of the fort in order, and to organise its defence when attacked by rebels or other enemies.[1]

Ordinarily the office of *qila'dar* was not combined with another office. But sometimes (especially under Jahangir)

1. Itibar Khan, governor and *qila'dar*, in 17th regnal year of Jahangir, defended the fort of Agra against the troops of Shah Jahan; see *Tuzuk*, 344, 369, 375; *Dutch Chronicle*, 57. In Rabi I, 9 R.Y. Aurangzeb issued instructions to Hoshdar Khan, *qila'dar* of Agra to be very vigilant in the defence of the fort, and not to entertain any document unless signed by the Emperor himself.

the governor of the *suba* was also made *qila'dar* of Agra.[1] Sometimes the *faujdari* jurisdiction of the surrounding district was given to a castellan.[2] Since the fort of Agra contained imperial treasure, the castellan of Agra was also given charge of the Imperial Treasure.[3]

At one stage, during Shah Jahan's reign, two nobles shared the *qila'dari* of the Agra fort.[4] But it is not clear how their duties were divided. No other evidence of this nature is available from any other reign.

When he was at Agra, the Emperor himself resided in the fort. Accordingly a *qila'dar* for Agra was appointed

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1. Some governors of Agra concurrently held the *qila'dari* of the Agra fort, e.g. Itibar Khan (*Tuzuk*, 314, 359, 375); Lashkar Khan (*Tuzuk*, 267, 278); Raja Bitthal Das, (August, 1637) (Lahori, I, 110); [illegible] Khan, (*Akhbarat*, Rabi II, 9 R.Y. (October, 1665). In case of *qila'dari* of Gwalior no second charge was assigned, except the *jagirdari* of the same place.

2. Itibar Khan and Lashkar Khan were both governors under Jahangir and held the charges of *qila'dari*, treasury, and *qila'dari* and *faujdari* of Agra; see *Tuzuk*, 267, 278.

3. *Ibid*.

4. Girdhar Das Gaur shared the charge with Baqi Khan in 1646, and later with Siyadat Khan. This arrangement seems to have continued till December 1654; see Lahori, II, 610; Waris, 142-3, 240-1, 244, 318.

only at a time when the Emperor was away.[1] This was similar to the practice adopted in respect of governors of the *suba*. Gwalior, on the other, would seem to have had a *qila'dar* all the time.

The *qila'daris* of Agra and Gwalior were considered prestigious offices, and were assigned to high ranking *mansabdars*. The *mansabs* of the castellans of Agra range from 1,000/800 to 5,000/4,000. Sometimes the castellans have rather low *savar mansabs*; but they were not expected to be cavalry commanders any way. These is only one instance when we come across a *mashrut mansab*; but the *savar* rank concerned was not the one attaching to the Fort of Agra it was a *mashrut* rank which the castellan held for his previous posting, and which was continued with his new assignment.

Much behind Agra and Gwalior-in status - was the Fort of Alwar. From the Ain it appears that the Fort of Alwar was in the possession of the chief of that locality. As to when and why it passed into the hands of imperial

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1. To cite a few examples Sarandaz Khan was appointed *qila'dar* when Shah Jahan started for Daulatabad in September 1635; see Lahori, III, 104-105. For other such instances see Lahori, II, 610; Waris, 142-43; *Alamgirnama*, 194, 237, 301, &c.

authority we have no information. The Akhbarat of Aurangzeb's later years, however, contain references to the appointments of three *qila'dars*, one of whom, Mandhata son of Chhatrasal Bundela, refused to accept the office.[1] Of these *qila'dars*, the *mansabs* of only two are known; both of them, 500 *zat*. Their *sawar mansabs* were still lower, 120 in one case and 200 in the other. From the *mansabs* of these *qila'dars* one can make out that not much importance was attached to the *qila'dari* of Alwar.

As it has been said above that the *qila'dars* of Agra were appointed only in those periods when the Emperor was away from the capital. No set pattern was followed in respect of the tenure of office. Even during the period when Aurangzeb was in the Deccan, the *qila'dars* at Agra were not allowed to stay in that post for a long time. Usually, the *qila'dars* were transferred within a year or two of their appointment.[2] In case of Gwalior transfers were not as frequent; still the maximum period for which a *qila'dar* stayed in office there was about 2+ years.

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1. *Akhbarat*, 2 Rabi II, 44 R.Y. (September 1690); 12 Z'qad 51 R.Y. (February, 1707).

2. See the Appendix A for the qila'dars of Agra in different years.

The Faujdar :

The faujdar was a very important official in the local military administration. His headquarters might or might not be those of a sarkar. In fact the area of his jurisdiction did not necessarily coincide with the sarkars, but was separately determined. The faujdar's powers were wide and varied and the duties and functions of an executive, revenue, judicial and army commander were joined together in the office of the faujdar.

All faujdari appointments, were made by a hasbul-hukm (order on behalf) issued by the principal minister (Jumdatu-l Mulk) conveying verbal orders of the Emperor. These orders carried instructions for the jagirdars, zamindars, chawdharies, muqaddams, qanungos, and the riyaya (peasantry) of the faujdari jurisdiction to obey the faujdar They also contained enjoined the appointee to exert himself for the maintenance of law and order, expansion of cultivation, and suppression of the sedition mongers.[1] These orders did not necessarily contain information about the emoluments of the appointees. But at the time an appointment was approved

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1. Munsha't Namakin, ff. 91b-92a (I owe my thanks to my colleague Dr. Ishtiaq Ahmad Zilli for this reference); Durru-lUlum, f. 138a; Nigarnama-i Munshi, 78-9.

by the Emperor the appointee's *mashrut* (conditional) rank was also fixed. This rank was normally attached to the *faujdari* jurisdiction.[1] It appears that in case of those *faujdars* who were paid cash salary reference to this might be made in the order of appointment;[2] otherwise separate details were issued about the localities assigned to the appointee in *jagir*.[3] The salary in cash or *jagirs* assigned were, of course, against the *mansab* of the appointee, no salary is known to have been attached to the office of *faujdar* as such, in addition to the perquisites and fees of the office.

In the Appendix B an attempt has been made to tabulate information about the appointments, transfers, and *mansabs* of the *faujdars* of different localities. Though we can not claim that this information is complete and conclusive, still it would be evident from the tables that no set principles were followed about the tenure of the *faujdars*, their *mansabs*, and their *faujdari* jurisdictions. They were transferred frequently as the Emperor desired; their *mansabs* varied even in case of different incumbents of the same

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1. See *Akhbarat*, Shawwal 28 R.Y.; Shaban, 34 R.Y., Rabi II, 38 R.Y.; Jam. I 38 R.Y.; Z'hij, 38 R.Y.; Transcript No. 85, p. 16.

2. *Durru-l Ulum*, ff. 139a-b.

3. Transcript No. 85, pp. 34,36.

faujdari; and concurrent assignments invariably depended on the person concerned and not as a matter of routine, or with attachment to particular *faujdaris*.

The *faujdar's* office might have had a pre-Mughal origin.[1] It was continued and developed by Akbar. *Ain* has a separate chapter (*Ain*) for it.[2] Still under Akbar reference to appointments of *faujdars* in chronicles are rather rare.[3] By the time that we come across the first reference to the appointment of a *faujdar*, by Jahangir, in a locality of Agra *suba*, several *faujdaris* in other *subas* are already referred to. *Faujdari* jurisdictions find passing references in the chronicles, which do not however throw much light on the actual function of the office. On the basis of the *mansabs* of the *faujdars* of the Agra *suba* (see Appendix A) it cannot be claimed that the appointees were prominent nobles and that any of these *faujdaris* belonged to the category of large jurisdictions, the *faujdari-i umdah*.[4]

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1. P. Saran, *op.cit.*, 210; Noman Ahmad Siddiqui, 'The *Faujdars*...', *Medieval India Quarterly*, 1961, p. 22.

2. *Ain.*, I, 194.

3. In the *insha'* writings of *Munsha't-i Namakin* we find an appointment letter of the *faujdar* of Agra, discussing his duties and functions in general, but the name of the appointee and his date of appointment have been left blank, see ff. 91b-92a.

4. According to N.S. Siddiqui, *op.cit.*, 25, *Tuzuk* recorded the *faujdaris* of prominent nobles. The case of the *faujdar* of Agra was different, he generally held a high *mansab*.

It would appear that in the initial stages the primary duty of the *faujdar* was to maintain law and order, so that proper revenue realisation from the locality might be ensured. From the Ain and elsewhere[1] it is not evident if revenue realisation had become the direct responsibility of the *faujdar* during the reign of Akbar. From Jahangir's reign there is no evidence to suggest that any change was introduced. But under Shah Jahan we come across references indicating that the duties of *amini*, *diwani* or collection of *rahdari* were also entrusted to the *faujdars*.[2] While collection of *rahdari* was the prerogative of the *faujdars*, it appears that the duties of *amin* and *diwan* were confined to *khalisa* lands only.[3] Under Aurangzeb it seems that the duties and functions of amin had become a part of the duties of smaller *faujdars*.[4]

Under Shah Jahan the number of recorded appointment of *faujdars* in *suba* Agra increase. From the *mansabs* of those appointed one can put the territorial jurisdictions in two broad categories; localities under higher *mansabdars* and

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1. *Ain*., I, 194; *Munshat*, ff. 91b-92a.

2. Waris, 246; *Akhbarat*, Jam. I, 24 R.Y., Z'hij, 38 R.Y. Z'hij, 41 R.Y. & c.

3. For *khalisa* lands of Etawah see Lahori, II, 191; Waris 246; for that of Kalpi, Waris, 246; *Akhbarat*, 18 Rajab, 46 R.Y., for Hindaun, Bayana.

4. *Durru-l Ulum*, ff. 138b-139b.

those assigned to comparatively smaller *mansabdars*. Localities with their headquarters at Agra, Fatepur Sikri, Etawah, Kol, Mathura and Narwar were assigned to nobles who held a *mansab* higher than 1,000 *zat*. The exceptionally high *mansab* of the *faujdar* of Etawah, Bharat Bundela (4,000/3,500), in the early years of Shah Jahan, was perhaps due to the need of setting a rival to Jujhar Singh in proximity to his principality.[1] At a later period Etawah became an imperial mint.[2] Agra, on account of being the capital, was always assigned to high *mansabdars*. During Shah Jahan's reign the system of appointing two *faujdars* in Agra was introduced; these held the *faujdaris* of trans-Yamuna areas, both holding high *mansabs*.[3]

Information is not available if some one was appointed *faujdar* of Mathura before Shah Jahan's reign, Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan was appointed *faujdar* of Mathura and its neighbourhood.[4] The *faujdar* of Mathura had to deal with the turbulent elements in the neighbourhood of Mathura, which appears to be the main reason for the appointment of high ranking *mansabdars* to this place, though in the earlier

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1. See section on the Bundelas in Chapter on *Zamindars*.

2. Aziza Hasan, 'Mints of the Mughal Empire', *Proceedings, Indian History Congress* (Patiala), 1967, pp. 319-49.

3. For details see Appendix B of this Chapter.

4. Qazwini, Transcript No. 3, p. 314.

years it was no more than a pargana headquarters. It seems that for about two decades of Shah Jahan's reign the fauidari jurisdiction of Mathura was confined to the environs of Mathura and Mahaban parganas. When disturbances assumed serious proportions, and Murshid Quli Khan, faujdar of Mathura, was killed his successor was assigned a jagir within his faujdari jurisdiction,[1] perhaps so that he could deal with the rebels more effectively. This system continued through the remaining years of Shah Jahan's reign. Mathura became sarkari headquarters and also its faujdari had assumed much greater importance, so much so that even a Governor on transfer was appointed its faujdar, being assigned his jagir within the jurisdiction.[2]

On the basis of our limited evidence one can not say that the appointment of a high ranking mansabdar as faujdar of Narwar was consistently followed under Shah Jahan. The posting of Mukhlis Khan, 2,000/2,000, at the beginning of this reign,[3] might have been made with a view to protecting the important route to the Deccan on which Narwar occupied a strategic position, as well as to keep an eye

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1. Lahori, II, 8, 22-3, Waris, 330.

2. Mukramat Khan (4,000/4,000), on transfer from the Governorship of Delhi was appointed faujdar of Mathura in the 12 R.Y. of Shah Jahan, see Ma'asir-ul Umara, III, 462.

3. Lahori, II, 191.

on the activities of Jujhar Singh Bundela. Similarly, in the case of Fatehpur Sikri, its status as one of Akbar's capital cities, proximity to Agra, and the Jat rebellion might have necessitated the appointment of high ranking _mansabdars_.[1]

Other _faujdaris_ recorded for the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan may be put in the category of minor _faujdaris_ on the basis of smaller _mansabs_ of the incumbents (less than 1,000 _zat_). References to such 'inferior' _faujdaris_ tend to be limited, while in a number of cases _mansabs_ of the _faujdars_ were not of sufficiently high ranks to be entered in Lahori or Waris's lists.

One will observe in the Appendix that till Shah Jahan's reign _faujdars_ do not seem to have been assigned any other offices concurrently; the only exceptions are Lashkar Khan, _faujdar_ of Agra (who was _qila'dar_ of Agra also),[2] and Bharat Bundela and Mir Arb Kharzi, _faujdars_ of Etawah, both of whom held the _amini_ of _khalisa_ land.[3]

The same pattern was followed during the reign of Aurangzeb. Few further developments took place regarding

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1. Waris, 212.

2. _Tuzuk_, 267.

3. Lahori, II, 191; Waris, 246.

the *faujdaris* of Agra and Mathura. In the case of Agra we come across several instances when the Governors of Agra concurrently held the *faujdari* of Agra as well.[1] Also, there are cases when *mansabdars* closely related to the Governors of Agra were appointed *faujdars* of the environs of Agra.[2] We find such arrangements from the 6th regnal year of Aurangzeb onwards. It would appear that Aurangzeb did not want to jeopardise the security of Agra by leaving room for conflict between two high ranking *mansabdars* holding important posts at Agra. The *faujdars* at Agra were sometimes also assigned adjacent territories in their *faujdari*,[3] or the office of *qial'dari* of Agra Fort.[4]

Under Aurangzeb the most important *faujdari*, after that of Agra, was that of Mathura presumably due to intermitent Jat rebellions. The assignment of *jagir* to the *faujdar* of Mathura within his *faujdari* jurisdiction continued to be followed during this reign as well. Due to the serious nature of the Jat rebellion, which covered a large area, the *faujdar* of Mathura was sometimes also awarded *zamindari* of few places within his *faujdari* jurisdiction on a conditional

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1. *Alamgirnama*, 883; *Ma'asir-i Alamgiri*, 50, 351, *Akhbarat*, Z'qad, 38 R.Y.

2. *Akhbarat*, Jam. I, 38 R.Y.; *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, III, 946.

3. *Alamgirnama*, 966; *Akhbarat*, Z'hij, 38 R.Y., Jam. II, 42 R.Y., Shaban, 42 R.Y.

4. *Ma'asir-i Alamgiri*, 50.

basis (*mashrut*).[1] The *faujdars* were, in such cases, required to settle such territories with their own kinsmen and followers, probably to counter the Jat rebels.

It may be mentioned here that we have not come across any evidence where any traditional *zamindar* was appointed as *faujdar* in his locality, within the *suba* of Agra. The established imperial policy was not to allow its officials to develop local roots, which might prove detrimental to the state's interests at some future date, and this presumably precluded giving to *zamindars* such important position of authority as *faujdari* to them within their own localities.

The primary function of a *faujdar* was to extend all help to the local officials and the *jagirdars* in the realization of revenue from their jurisdiction. Where *faujdari* and the office of *amin* were conferred on the same person it obviously became his duty to personally realise the revenue from that locality. While an oppressive *faujdar* could go scots free even after repeated complaints against him,[2] any suspicion of disloyalty or embezzlement of government

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1. *Akhbarat*, Jam. I, 33 R.Y.; Transcript No. 85, pp. 47-8.

2. Transcript No. 85, pp. 31, 47-8, 62-3; *Akhbarat*, Safar 37 R.Y.

money could bring about immediate dismissal from the post the institute of an enquiry, and the extortion of the amount due realised from him.[1]

The *faujdars* were required to keep a close watch on the activities of the *zamindars* of their locality, and see that they did not construct forts (*garhis*) which could be used, some day, against imperial authority. Where such cases were reported, the *faujdars* were required to take action against the guilty *zamindars* and demolish the *garhis*.[2]

The division of the *suba* into *sarkars* and *parganas* was made for the effective functioning of the administration, and in that light appointment of imperial officials should have been made for one or more such divisions. Contrary to this we find that the *faujdari* jurisdictions not only comprised *parganas* belonging to different *sarkars*, but even to the adjoining areas of other *subas*.[3] It seems that in such cases the delimitation followed considerations of convenience of military command, local circumstances, such

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1. *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, 82.

2. See *Akhbarat*, 17 Shaban, 37 R.Y., 7 Z'qad, 38 R.Y &c for Mathura *faujdari*; 13 Ramzan, 38 R.Y. for Erachh *faujdari*, 6 Muharram 47 R.Y. for Bayana *faujdari*; 8 Z'qad 47 R.Y. for Dholpur *faujdari*, & c.

3. For *faujdari* jurisdiction extending to different *sarkars* see *Akhbarat*, Rajab, 24 R.Y., Shawwal 25 R.Y., Z'hij, 41 R.Y., Z'hij, 44 R.Y.; for that of different *subas*, see *Alamgirnama*, 447; *Akhbarat*, Z'qad, 38 R.Y., Z'hij, 38 R.Y.

as existence of a rebellious zone, and so on.[1]

The *thanedars* were subordinates of the *faujdars* who headed police or military posts (*thanas*) established within the *faujdari*. They were responsible to the *faujdars*, who appointed them, seemingly at least one *thanedar* for a *pargana*.[2] But big *jagirdars* usually obtained from the Court *faujdari* rights within their own *jagirs*, and so kept out the *thanedars* of the *faujdar* of the surrounding territory from their *jagirs*.[3]

The Kotval :

The *kotval*, who may be loosely designated chief of Town Police, was appointed at the headquarters of important towns. They were appointed by a *hasbu'l Hukm*, and were in-charge of the maintenance of law and order. They were required to recruit their subordinates from the local populace, to be kept informed of every kind of circumstance, to keep watch on all those who entered the locality, whether merchants, soldiers or otherwise, and the income and expenditure of the people. The last requirement was designed to

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1. Kirat Singh, for example, was appointed *faujdar* of *pargana* Kama Pahari in *suba* Agra and the adjoining areas of the *suba* Delhi to deal with the recalcitrants of that locality. (*Alamgirnama*, 451).

2. Transcript No. 85, 135.

3. *Ibid*.

trace income obtained illegally or by crime. It was also his duty to keep the locality free from thieves, and other trouble makers. Like the *faujdars*, and *jagirdars* *Kotwal* was held responsible for any loss of property incurred by a citizen.[1]

It would appear that in the appointment of his subordinates the kotwal had a free hand. When a Governor of Agra sought to change the personnel of the *Kotwali* of Agra, this was disallowed by the Emperor.[2]

At the time of his appointment the *kotwal* was asked to perform his duties honestly and justly, through night patrolling and strict watch on undesirable elements. An official document defining his duties says that he was to recover stolen property and apprehend thieves. Those so seized were to be kept in prison or released according to the orders of the qazi. But excepting thieves (suspected?) he was prohibited from arresting anyone, on his own authority.[3]

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1. *Ain.*, I, 197; Badaoni, 390; *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, 90 for *qasba* Islamabad.

2. Thus, when Shaista Khan, Governor of Agra, appointed 400 Mewatis as foot-soldiers to the *Kotwali* of Agra Agra after removing those working there, the Emperor wrote to him to reinstate the previous foot-soldiers and remove his men; see *Akhbarat*, 11 Safar, 36 R.Y.

3. *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, 90.

In those localities where a kotwal was not appointed the police duties devolved on the revenue-collector (amalguzar) of that locality,[1] who had a smaller of jurisdiction for his work.

Whether people were able to enjoy peaceful life, free from the harassment by thieves and other criminals is doubtful. Pelsaert draws a picture of the kotwal/kotwal's men harassing the citizenry.[2] The appointment of pyadas by Shaista Khan, governor of Agra,[3] in itself suggests that even the capital city of Agra was not free from thieves.

On the basis of the scanty information we have, it would be difficult to work out the term of office of the Kotwals.[4] In case of Agra only Nuruddin Quli remained in this office for more than 10 years.[5] It would appear that the Kotwals were changed, at Agra at least, quite frequently But one cannot be sure about this owing to the large gaps in our information.

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1. Ain., I, 197-8.

2. Pelsaert, 57, holds that Kotwals were not alone to be blamed for such oppressive practices; that right from the Emperor downwards all officials took their share in providing 'justice' to the common folk.

3. Akhbarat, 11 Safar, 36 R.Y.

4. See Appendix C.

5. He was Kotwal of Agra from 3 R.Y. to 14 R.Y. of Jahangir; see Appendix C.

From the *mansabs* of the *kotvals* of Agra it appears that up to the reign of Shah Jahan they enjoyed a rather high status. During the reign of Aurangzeb, the status of the *kotwals* of Agra seems to have depreciated. Whether *mashrut mansab* was awarded to the *kotwals* of earlier reigns is not clear; under Aurangzeb such practice seems to have become quite common.[1] But the *mashrut mansab* of the *kotwal* of Agra was only 20 *sawar*, implying a surprisingly small cavalry contingent for so responsible an office.

The Qazi :

The *qazi* was in-charge of judiciary at the local level. The Emperor, at the advice of the *sadr* of the *suba*, appointed *qazis* for different *parganas*.

Whenever any dispute arose on the proprietary rights over land the *qazi*, with the help of local elders, examined the claims of both the parties and on the basis of old records and witnesses decided the case. In all such cases signatures of the witnesses were obtained on the 'judgement' whose copy was kept by the winner of the suit for future reference.[2]

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1. For *mashrut mansab* of Yar Beg see *Akhbarat*, Rabi I, 36 RY
2. See Shamsabad Document Nos. 1 and 2, where the *qazi* is styled *Divan-i Shara*.

All sale-deeds and gift-deeds were prepared before the *qazi* and normally seem to have borne his signatures, with seal, along with the signatures of a large number of witnesses.[1] He also attested copies of documents, with his seal, together with the endorsement: "This copy corresponds to the original".

Cases of theft, highway robbery under his jurisdiction were placed before him and he was empowered to imprison those found guilty.[2] Cases of divorce, quarrels, threats and the like were also placed before him. He often decided these cases in company with the *kotwal*.[3]

From a *farman* of Shah Jahan it would appear that the *qazis* received *madad-i ma'ash* grants in lieu of their services. From this it also transpires that the *qazis* held their offices ordinarily for life.[4]

In this *farman* the area of the land grant was increased from 30 to 100 *bighas*. The reasons for such an increase are not recorded; therefore, one can not say if

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1. Shamsabad Document Nos. 4, 24, 34, 39, 44 & c.

2. *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, 90.

3. Pelsaert, 57.

4. Persian Mss. No. 30, on display case, Maulana Azad Library, A.M.U., Aligarh.

this increase in the grant was necessitated by an extension of *qazis* jurisdiction, or for some other reason.[1]

From the statements of Abul Fazl and Pelsaert it would appear that *qazis* took advantage of their official position and were widely suspected of practising fraud and taking ~~bribes~~ bribes from suitors.[2]

The Karori, Amin, Amin-o Faujdar:

The back bone of the Mughal economy was the assessment and realization of land revenue. When in the 19th year of his reign Akbar resumed whole of Hindustan, including Agra, to the *khalisa* new revenue collectors were appointed. These came to be called *karoris*, first popularly, then officially. Their foremost duty was to exert themselves for the extension of cultivation.[3] They were assigned an area whose revenues were expected to be one kror of *tankas*.[4] They were to work as assessors as well as collectors.[5]

No specific information is available for our *suba* suggesting changes in the duties and powers of *karoris*, in

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1. Persian Mss. No. 30, on display case, Maulana Azad Library, A.M.U., Aligarh.
2. *Ain.*, I, 198-9; Pelsaert, 57.
3. Badaoni, II, 189; Irfan Habib, *op.cit.*, 207.
4. *Akbar Nama*, III, 117, Badaoni, II, 189; Irfan Habib, *op.cit.*, 275.
5. *Ain.*, I, Blochmann ed., p. 285-8; Irfan Habib, *op.cit.*275.

the subsequent period.[1]

It is from the 20th R.Y. of Shah Jahan that we begin to get appointments of amins as assessors of different parganas of khalisa within suba Agra.[2] They now usually held the combined office of amin-o faujdar.[3] It seems that the amins and faujdars had their authority restricted to khalisa lands. In the other areas assigned in jagir the revenue establishment was appointed and maintained by the jagirdars, while the faujdars were, ordinarily, imperial officials.

The amins in the khalisa were appointed on the orders issued by the central diwan.[4] Like other orders for the appointments of local officials, these were also addressed to the village headmen, and the peasantry (ri'aya), informing them of a particular appointment. These orders carried instructions for the designated official to the effect that he should work for the extension and improvement of cultivation,[5] and win the good-will of the people of the locality.

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1. For detailed discussions see Irfan Habib, 275-82.

2. Waris, 36.

3. Waris, 246; Akhbarat, 4'hij, 38 R.Y., Jam. I, 44 R.Y.; Rajab, 46 R.Y.; Rabi I, 48 R.Y. of Aurangzeb. Sometimes they held the single assignment of amini; see Akhbarat, Muharram, 46 R.Y., Muharram, 48 R.Y.; Durru-l Ulum, ff. 137a-b; for diwani-o Amini, see Waris, 36.

4. Durru-l Ulum, ff. 61b-62a.

5. Nigarnama-i Munshi, 99-102.

The *amins* were required to obtain for every village, information about cultivation, and the assessment thereof stated for each cultivator, and submit it to the office of the *divan* of the *suba*.[1] In case of some natural calamity, the *amins*, with the help of other local and village officials, were to assess the loss and recommend a deduction from the revenue on this account so that necessary remissions could be granted by the Court.[2]

For misappropriation of government funds the *karoris* could be suspended, their documents seized, and in case their guilt was established, the misappropriated amount recovered.[3] But the sources are silent as to what happened if excess money was found to have been realized from the peasantry. Was it to be restored to them, or was it adjusted against land revenue levied on them subsequently.

It is not known if *amins* were awarded any *mansabs*, but those who held the office of *amin-o faujdari* were usually awarded a *mansab*. Two such officials are mentioned in the *Akhbarat* as receiving *sawar* ranks as *mashrut* (attached to office) as well as *in'am* assignments (i.e. *jagirs* without

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1. *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, 99-102.
2. *Ibid*.
3. *Ibid*.

obligation of contingent).[1] The latter was presumably meant to cover the expenses of the establishment of his office. But the amounts (of *jama'*) assigned in *in'am* seem rather large. Since the *amins* and *karoris* are not known to have been holding any *mansabs* one can suggest that they were paid for their duty in either cash or through commission.[2]

Alongwith (or, possibly under) the *karoris* and *amins* were officers known as the *fotadars*. At each *pargana* *fotadars* or *khizandars* were posted, whose basic duty was to accept the money collected by the revenue officials, and remit it to the *suba* treasury each harvest.

A *fotadar* was not supposed to do the job of revenue collector; but if a peasant came to deposit any amount he wished to pay in tax, he was to accept it and issue a receipt. The money kept in the treasury was to be counted each evening, tallied with the accounts of the local *divan* and properly locked by the *fotadar* and *amil* separately.[3] Unless some urgent need for expenditure arose money deposited in the treasury was not to be spent, and even for such expenditure prior permission of the divan of the suba was

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1. For *mansab* and *in'am* both, see *Akhbarat*, 27 Zhij, 38 R.Y. 18 Rajab, 46 R.Y.; *in'am* was like one kror or forty lac *dams*.

2. See Irfan Habib, *op.cit.*, 279 & n., 280. No specific information for *suba* Agra is available.

3. *Ain.*, I, 198-200.

necessary.[1] The *fotadar* was instructed to accept the coins of the current reign only and refuse other coins whose market value had declined.[2]

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1. *Ain.*, I, 198-200. *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, 146.
2. *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, 100.



APPENDIX - A

(1) Qila'dars of Agra

S.No.	Name	Known Period	Mansab	Other Assignments	Sources
1.	Khwaja Jahan	1605			*Tuzuk*, 26-7.
2.	Lashkar Khan	1618	3000/2000	Governor, *Faujdar* Agra	*Tuzuk*, 267-278.
3.	Itibar Khan	1622-3	6000/5000	Governor, incharge of Treasury	*Ibid.*, 359, 375, *Dutch Chronicle*, 57, 74, 77-8
4.	Sardar Khan Khwaja Sara	1630-31	-	-	*Ma'asir-ul Umara*,
5.	Sarandaz Khan	Sept. 1635	-	-	Lahori, Iii, 105.
6.	Raja Bithaldas	Aug. 1637	-	Governor	*Ibid.*, II, 110.
7.	Girdhar Das Gaur	Oct. 1646	1000/800	-	*Ibid.*, II, 610.
8.	Baqi Khan	June, 1649	-	-	Waris, 142-43.
9.	Siyadat Khan	June, 1649	3000/1500	-	*Ibid.*
10.	Zulfiqar Khan	May, 1658	5000/3000	-	*Alamgirnama*, 124, 157.
11.	Radandaz Khan	Nov. 1658	1500/500	-	*Ibid.*, 234, 237.

.... (11)

12.	Ikram Khan	Jan. 1659	2000/1000		*Ibid*.,301,346-7(for *mansab*)
13.	Itiqad Khan	April,1659	-		*Ibid*., 342.
14.	Itibar Khan	June 1661- April,1665	2000/700		*Ibid*.,625,856,833-4.
15.	Radandaz Khan	April,1665	2000/1500		*Ibid*., 833-4.
16.	Hoshdar Khan	Oct. 1665	-	Governor	*Akhbarat*, Rabi II,9 R.Y.
17.	Mu'tamad Khan	1673-4	-		*Ma'asir-i Alamgiri*,
18.	Abdul Rasul Khan	1679-80			*Ibid*.,
19.	Ibadullah Khan	Nov.1689- March 1690	(Died)		*Akhbarat*,Safar 36 R.Y. and Rabi II, 36 R.Y.
20.	Abdullah Khan	March 1690- May, 1700	-		*Akhbarat*, Rabi II,36 R.Y. Rabi II 37,Z'hij, 44 R.Y.
21.	Ra'dandaz Khan	July 1700	-		*Ibid*., Safar 45 R.Y.
22.	Baqi Khan	Jan.1702- June 1703	-		*Ibid*.,Ramzan46-8 R.Y. Safar 48 R.Y.
23.	Kamgar Khan	Aug. 1703	2500/1200		*Ibid*.,Rabi II, 48 R.Y.
24.	Mukhlis Khan	1703-4			*Ma'asir-i Alamgiri*,
25.	Baqi Khan	1704-5- Nov. 1705			*Ibid*., *Akhbarat*, Shaban,50 R.Y.

(ii) Qila'dars of Gwalior:

Sl. No.	Name	Known Period	Mansab	Sources
1.	Anirai Singh dalan	May, 1619	2000/1600	Tuzuk, 266, 273
2.	Abul Muzaffar	1627-8	4000/3000	Ma'asir-ul Umara.
3.	Saiyid Alam	Nov. 1645	-	Lahori, II, 474.
4.	Ubaidullah Khan	Jan. 1658	2000/1000	Alamgirnama, 301.
5.	Khwaja Mu'tmad Khan	Sept. 1664 -Dec. 1666	1500/600	Akhbarat, Rabi II, 8 R.Y. Alamgirnama, 960, 1068.
6.	Khidmatgar Khan	Dec. 1666		Alamgirnama, 1068.
7.	Muhammad Afzal	April-1699		Akhbarat, Z'qad, 43 R.Y.
8.	Muhammad Fazil	June 1700	500/100	Akhbarat, Muharram, 45 R.Y.
9.	Khidmat Talab Khan	June 1700-July 1702.	500/600	Akhbarat, Muharram, 45 R.Y. Rabi I, 47 R.Y.

(iii) Qila'dars of Alwar:

Sl. No.	Name	Known Period	Mansab	Sources
1.	Baqi Khan	Sept. 1699	-	Akhbarat, Rabi II, 44 R.Y.
2.	Abdullah	Sept. 1699	-	Ibid.
3.	Mandhata	Jan. 1707 (but refused to accept)		Akhbarat, Z'qad. 51 R.Y.

APPENDIX - B

Faujdars

S.No.	Name	Known Period	Mansabs	Other Assignments	Sources
	AGRA				
1.	Islam Khan	1609-10	-	-	*Dutch Chronicle*, 40-1.
2.	Khan Jahan Lodi	1618-19	6000/6000		*Tuzuk*, 267.
3.	Lashkar Khan	1618-19	3000/2000	*Qiladar* Agra	*Ibid*. 267.
4.	Baqir Khan	March 1620 - Nov. 1620	2000/1200		*Ibid*.327,333,337.
5.	Mirza Muhammad, *alias* Asad Khan	1630	-	-	*Ibid*., 337.
6.	Mukramat Khan	1630-1	-	-	Qazwini, 428.
7.	Mu'tamad Khan	March 1631- May 1632	-	-	Lahori, II, 369,425,427.
8.	Rashid Khan Ansari	June 1632	-	-	*Ibid*., 431.
9.	Allahvardi Khan	June 1632-April 1633	-	-	*Ibid*.
10.	Shahnawaz Khan	April 1633	3000/2000	-	*Ibid*., 476-7.
11.	Mukramat Khan	Sept. 1633	2000/1000	-	*Ibid*., 542.

... .(ii)

12.	Agha Khan	May 1635-July 1638			Ibid., III,101-2; II,20,91,110.
13.		Jan 1645-Feb. 1646	1000/1000X2-3h		Ibid. II,407-8,610.
		Feb.1653-Aug. 1656			Waris, 208,329.
13.	Saiyid Salar Khan	1657-58			Ma'asir-ul Umara, I,215--6.
14.	Ikram Khan	Sept. 1661			Alamgirnama, 758.
15.	Ubaidullah Khan	Sept. 1661	2000/2000X (500x2-3h)		Ibid.
16.	Himmat Khan	Sept. 1662			Ibid., 839.
17.	Radandaz Khan	Sept.1662-1664-5		Qiladar Agra	Ibid.
18.	Hoshdar Khan	April 1665	4000/4000	Governor Agra.	Ibid., 883.
19.	Abul Nabi Khan	Aug. 1665	2000/2000 (1300x2-3h)	Faujdar Mathura	Ibid., 966.
20.	Amanullah	1668-9			Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, 93.
21.	Sarbuland Khan	1671-2			Ma'asir-ul Umara, III,947-8.
22.	Himmat Khan	1671-2			Ibid.
23.	Multafat Khan	1677-8-July 1680	1000/1000		Ibid., III,612; Akhbarat, Rajab 24 R.Y.
24.	Ibadullah Khan	Aug. 1680			Akhbarat, Shaban, 24 R.Y.
25.	Itiqad Khan	1691-2	1500/1200	Governor Agra.	Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, 351.

... (iii)

26.	Iftikhar Khan	Dec.1693-June 1694			Akhbarat, Jam.I, 38 R.Y. Z'qad, 38 R.Y.
27.	Mukhtar Khan	June 1694		Governor Agra	Ibid., Z'qad, 38 R.Y.
	BARI				
1.	Mir Burhani	May 1667	1000/800		Alamgirnama, 1050.
2.	Sher Muhammad	July 1680	300/150		Akhbarat, Rajab 24 R.Y.
3.	Raja Kalyan Singh Bhadauriya	Aug.1693-Dec.1705	1500/1400	Faujdar Gwalior	Akhbarat, Muharram, Z'hij 38 R.Y., Jam.II 42 R.Y. Shaban, 48 R.Y.; Shaban 50 R.Y.
4.	Gopal Singh, s.o. Raja Kalyan Singh	Dec. 1706			Akhbarat, 12 Shawwal, 51 R.Y.
	BAYANA & HINDAUN				
1.	Raja Bishan Singh	May 1690		Faujdar Mathrura	Akhbarat, 12 Shaban, 34 R.Y.
2.	Kamaluddin Khan	Dec. 1691	2000/1000		Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, 351.
3.	Raja Bishn Singh	Dec. 1692		Faujdar Mathura	Akhbarat, 16 Rabi II, 37 R.Y.
4.	Itiqad Khan	April 1700		Governor	Ibid., 4 Z'qad, 44 R.Y.

...(iv)

5.	Saiyid Nur Muhammad	Dec. 1701		*Ibid.*, 18 Rajab, 46 R.Y.
6.	Saleh Khan	Dec.1701-May 1702	500/470	*Ibid.*, 18 Rajab, 46 R.Y. 5 Muharram, 47 R.Y.
7.	Amar Singh, s.o. Hari Singh	Nov. 1706	500/200	*Akhbarat*, 5 Ramzan, 51 R.Y.
	DHOLPUR			
1.	Mukhtar Khan	Dec. 1700	1000/700	*Akhbarat*, 11 Rajab & 24 Rajab, 45 R.Y.
2.	Safdar Khan	Dec. 1700	700/500	*Akhbarat*, 24 Rajab, 45 R.Y.
3.	Gopal Singh	Oct. 1701	400/250	*Akhbarat*, 9 Jam.I, 46 R.Y.
4.	Safdar Khan	March 1702	500/600	*Akhbarat*, 27 Shawwal, 46 R.Y.
5.	Mirza Muhammad Khan	March, 1702		*Akhbarat*.
6.	Muhammad Qasim	Sept. 1703	400/100	*Akhbarat*, 1 Jam.I, 48 R.Y.
7.	Gopal Singh	Feb. 1704		*Akhbarat*, 28 Shawwal, 48 R.Y.
	BROACH & OTHERS			
1.	Nijabat Singh	Sept. 1655		Waris, 310.
2.	Saiyid Feruz	Sept. 1655		*Ibid.*
3.	Mirza Jam Minuchehar	1671-2		*Ma'asir-i Alamgiri*, 127.

4.	Mirza Shahnawaz Khan Safavi	1681-2			*Ma'asir-ul Umara*, III,692.
5.	Raja Udwat Singh	1691-2	2000/1500		*Ma'asir-i Alamgiri*,350-51.
6.	Khairandesh Khan	Aug.1694		*Faujdar* Etawah	*Akhbarat*,27 Z'hij,38 R.Y.

ETAWAH

1.	Bharat Bundela	1627-8-March 1634	4000/3500		Lahori, II,191,542,III,13-4.
2.	Mir Arb Kharzi	Feb. 1649		*Amini* of *Khalisa* land of Etawah, Kalpii	Waris, 246.
3.	Abul Nabi Khan	July, 1659			*Alamgirnama*,440.
4.	Feruz Khan Mewati	July 1659	1500/1000		*Ibid.*
5.	Raja Todar Mal	Dec.1660-April 1665			*Ibid.*, 604,835.
6.	Haji Ahmad Sayeed	April 1665	1000/700		*Ibid.*,835.
7.	Khairandesh Khan	May, 1680			*Akh.*,11 Jam.I, 24 R.Y.
8.	Rashid Khan	July 1680-Oct. 1681	800/500 (300x2-3h)	*Faujdar* Kanauj	*Akh.*,Rajab, 24,R.Y. Shawwal 25 R.Y.

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9.	Saiyid Azim Ullah	Oct.1681			Akh. Shawwal,25 R.Y.
10.	Atiq Ullah Khan	Feb.1693–June1694	700/700x 2-3h		Akh. 27 Rajab 37 R.Y.; 4 &20 Z'qad, 38 R.Y.
11.	Khairandesh Khan	June 1694–1696-7		Faujdar Bareilly, Khairabad, Arachh; Amini, Diwani Etawah	Akh.,20 Z'qad; 3 Z'hij 38R.Y. 41 R.Y.
		May 1700–Jan,1705	900/650		Akh., 6 Z'hij 44 R.Y., 6 Z'qad. 45 R.Y.;Rabi I,47 R.Y. Ramzan 48 R.Y.

FATEHPUR

1.	Ikram Khan	Jan.1618-March 1619	2000/1000		Tuzuk, 215,253,260,266.
2.	Shaikh Muazzam Fatehpuri	May, 1653	1000/800		Waris, 212.
3.	Maha Singh Bhadauriya	1658-9		Faujdar Khanwa	Alamgirnama, 241.
4.	Yazdani	1658-9-April 1659	1500/1000	"	Ibid.
5.	Faujdar Khan	April 1659	1500/1000x 2-3h	"	Ibid.,[illegible].
6.	Ikram Khan	Oct. 1660	2000/2000	"	Ibid.,634.

...(viii)

7.	Abdul Ma'ali	Oct. 1691	500/500x 2-3h	Faujdar Khanwa	Akh., 27 Safar 36 R.Y.
8.	Muhammad Ibrahim	Dec. 1693			Akh.,11 Rabi II, 38 R.Y.
9.	Shaikh Abdul Islam	Dec. 1693			Akh.,16 Rabi II, 38 R.Y.
10.	Muhammad Saleh	Feb.1701- March 1702			Akh.,23,26 Ramzan, 45 R.Y.; 24 Muharram, 27 Shawwal, 46 R.Y.

GWALIOR

1.	Saiyid Salar	Nov.1645- March 1649	1000/1000	Lahori,II, 474; Waris 78.
2.	Kishan Singh Tonwar	March 1659		Akh.,Rajab 2 R.Y.
3.	Ubaidullah Khan	March 1659	2000/1200	Akh.,Rajab 2 R.Y.
4.	Abul Fateh Khan	Feb. 1660		Akh.,14 Rabi II, 3 R.Y.
5.	Mukhtar Khan	Feb. 1660	3000/1500	Ibid.
6.	Zabardast Khan	Oct. 1660	1000/1000 (500x2-3h)	Alamgirnama, 594.
7.	Kartalab Khan	May 1667	1000/700	Ibid., 1050.
8.	Lashkar Khan	1668-9		Ma'asir-ul Umara, II,467.
9.	Mu'tamad Khan	1678-9		Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, 176.

10.	Amanullah Khan	1678-9 to Aug. 1680			*Ma'asir-i Alamgiri*, 176; *Akh.* Rajab, Shaban, 24 R.Y.
11.	Fedai Khan	1683-4			*Ma'asir-ul Umara*, III,
12.	Azam Khan Koka	1688-9			*Ma'asir-i Alamgiri*, 335.
13.	Saleh Khan	Nov. 1692			*Akh.*, 18 Rabi I, 37 R.Y.
14.	Jamaluddin	Sept. 1693	300/200		*Akh.*, 25 Muharram, 38 R.Y.
15.	Iltafat Khan	July 1694	700/700x2-3h		*Akh.*, 3,8 Z'hij, 38 R.Y.
16.	Kamaluddin	July 1694-Aug. 1694	2500/2500		*Akh.*, 8 Z'hij 38 R.Y.; 26 Rabi I, 38 R.Y.
17.	Jan Nisar Khan	July 1699-June 1703	1500/1500X 2-3h	*Faujdar* Narwar	*Akh.*, 7,27 Safar, 20 Rabi II, 6 Z'hij, 44, 26 Shawwal, 45 R.Y.; 4 Rabi I, 16 Rabi II, 23 Shawwal 47 R.Y.; 26 Muharram 48 R.Y.

JA[redacted]A[redacted]R

1.	Bahadur Kambu	Dec. 1649		*Faujdar* O'l [redacted]	Waris,
2.	Daud Khan Qureshy	1656-7		*Faujdar*, Mathura Mahaban	*Ma'asir-ul Umara*,
3.	Guman Singh	June 1661			*Akh.*, 14 Shawwal, 4 R.Y.
4.	R. Bishan Singh	April 1690		*Faujdar* [redacted] Hindaun	Transcript 86, p.36.
5.	Saifullah Khan	April 1693		[redacted]	Akh., 4 Ramzan, 37 R.Y.

KAMA PAHARI

1.	Kirat Singh	1657-8	2500/2000	*Faujdar* of neighbouring area of *suba* Delhi.	*Alamgirnama*, 237,447,451.
2.	Itiqad Khan	Sept. 1699			*Akh.*, 28 Rabi I,44 R.Y.
3.	Jeet Singh	Sept.1699-June 1700	2500/2500		*Akh.*, 28 Rabi I, 44 R.Y.; Muharram 45 R.Y.
4.	Saiyid Khan	March 1702			*Akh.*, 27 Shawwal, 46 R.Y.

KANAUJ

1.	Khawas Khan	May 1612	1000/500		*Tuzuk*, 109-10.
2.	Saiyid Nizam	Oct. 1619			*Tuzuk*, 280.
3.	Rustam Khan	Jan. 1621			*Tuzuk*, 376.
4.	Mirza Khan	Jan. 1628			Qazwini, 251.
5.	Diler Khan	Feb.1647-Feb.1650		*Faujdar* Kalpi	Waris, 36,137.
6.	Rai Makrand	Feb. 1650			Waris,137;*Nuskha-i Dilkusha*, f. 42a.
7.	Sazawar Khan	Nov. 1677			*Ma'asir-i Alamgiri*, 163.

8.	Rashid Khan	July 1680- Oct. 1681	800/500 (300x2-3h)	Faujdar Etawah	Akh., Rajab 24 R.Y. Shawwal 25 R.Y.
9.	Saiyid Azim Ullah	Oct. 1681		"	Akh., Shawwal 25 R.Y.
	KOL				
1.	Nijabat Khan, alias Mirza Shuja	Jan. 1630	2000/1400		Lahori, I1, 292, 314-5.
	MATHURA				
1.	Mirza Isa Tarkhan	July1628-1629			Qazwini, 314; Lahori, I1, 230.
2.	Murshid Quli Khan	Aug.1635- Nov. 1637	2500/2500 (500x2-3h)	Faujdar Mahaban, Kama Pahari	Lahori, I1, 105; I11, 142, 243, 275.
3.	Baqi Khan	Nov.1637			Lahori, I11, 277-8.
4.	Allahwardi Khan	Nov.1637- Feb.1638			Ibid., II, 8, 22-3.
5.	Azam Khan	1644-45			Ma'asir-ul Umara, III, 462; Zakhirat, f. 80a.
6.	Mukramat Khan	1644-45	4000/4000	Faujdar Mathura, Mahaban	Ma'asir-ul Umara, III, 462.

7.	Abdul Nabi Khan	March 1657	1000/400	Faujdar Mathura, Mahaban.	Waris, 330.
8.	Alawardi Khan	1657-8-June 1660	3500/3000 x2-3h		Alamgirnama, 115, 341, 459-60 564.
9.	Qasim Khan	June 1660			Ibid., 564.
10.	Abdul Nabi Khan	Aug. 1660-March 1666	2000/2000 (1300x2-3h)	Faujdar Agra	Ibid., 573, 938, 960, 966.
		1668-9			Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, 83.
11.	Saf Shikan Khan	Nov. 1668			Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, 84, 92-3.
12.	Hasan Ali Khan	Nov. 1668-March 1671	3500/2000		Ibid., 92-3; Akh. Ramzan, 13 R.Y.
13.	Mubriz Khan	1675-6			Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, 152.
14.	Sultan Quli Khan	1675-6			Ibid., 152.
15.	Raja Bishan Singh	May 1687	2000/2000x 2-3h	Faujdar, Bayan, Hindaun	Transcript No. 85, pp. 16-7, 29, 30, 31, 35, 47-8, 62-3; Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri, 340; Akh., Shaban, 34 R.Y. Safar, Rabi I, 35 R.Y., Safar; Rajab, Shaban, 37 R.Y., Rabi II, Jam. I, Shawwal, Z'qad, Z'hij 38 R.Y.; Rajab, Shaban, Shawwal, Z'hij 39 R.Y., 2 Shawwal 40 R.Y.
16.	Itiqad Khan	1696-June 1700	2500/2,500x 2-3h	Faujdar Kama Pahari; Governor Agra	Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, 382; Dilkusha, ff. 125b, 127a; Akh., Muharram 45 R.Y.

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17.	Mukhtar Khan	Dec.1700- Feb.1702	3000/2000x 2-3h	Governor Agra	Akh.,26 Rajab 45 R.Y. II Jan.II, 25 Shawwal 46 R.Y.
18.	Zabardast Khan	Feb. 1702	3000/2000	" "	Akh., 25 Shawwal, 46 R.Y.
19.	Iftikhar Khan	Feb. 1702			Akh., 27 Shawwal, 46 R.Y.
	NARWAR				
1.	Mukhlis Khan	1627-8	2000/2000		Lahori,II,191,228.
2.	Ubaidullah Khan	May 1664- June 1666			Alamgirnama, 861,968,1051.
3.	Jani Khan	June 1666- Nov. 1668			Ibid.,1051; Akh.,22 Rajab, 12 R.Y.
	RATH				
1.	Subhkaran Bundela	1677-8		Faujdar,Mohba Jalalpur, Khandosah	Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 467.
2.	Lashkar Khan	1677-8		"	Ibid.
	WAZIRPUR				
1.	Amar Singh, s.o. Hari Singh	Dec.1698			Akh., 6 Rajab, 43 R.Y.
2.	Amar Singh, s.o. Raj Singh	Dec.1698			Akh., 6 Rajab, 43 R.Y.

APPENDIX - C

Kotwals Of Agra

S. No.	Name	Known Period	Mansabs	Sources
1.	Ghazi Malik	1604-5		*Dutch Chronicle*, 36.
2.	Nuruddin Quli	1608-1619	3000/600	*Tuzuk*, 66, 207, 265-6.
3.	Sarandaz Khan Qalmaq	Dec. 1632-April, 1633	1000/800	Lahori, II, 450, 488.
4.	Shah Ali	Nov. 1637		*Ibid.*, II, 8.
5.	Shukrullah Arab	Nov. 1637		*Ibid.*
6.	Sharfuddin Husain	Aug. 1638		*Ibid.*, II, 110.
7.	Saleh Beg	Feb. 1655		Waris, 325.
8.	Yar Beg	Nov. 1691	400/100 (20 *savar mashrut*)	*Akhbarat*, Rabi I, 36 R.Y.
9.	Muhammad Arif	Nov. 1691	150/150	*Ibid.*

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CHAPTER - IV

THE JAGIR SYSTEM

As in other *subas*, a large portion of *suba* Agra was assigned in *jagirs* by the Emperor. The Mughal army commanders and higher bureaucrats normally received their salary through the assignment of taxes, including land revenue, of a particular territory on the basis of a standing estimation of the net tax-income of the territory, which had to be equal to the pay claim based on the *zat* and *sawar mansabs* held by the assignee.[1] These assignments were called *jagirs* or *tuyuls*, and the assignee was known as *jagirdar* or *tuyuldar*, both terms being synonymous.

The assignment of jagirs was an important function of the Imperial administration. The exact area with its *jama'* were recorded in the assignment order issued to the *jagirdar*. Such a *sanad* issued to a prospective assignee of a *pargana* in *chakla* Kanauj, *suba* Agra, calls upon the local officials (*chaudharis*, *qanungos* and *muqaddams*), the *muzariyan* (cultivators) and the *riyaya* (peasants, revenue-payers) of the assigned territory to cooperate with the *gumashta*(agent)

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1. Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System*, pp. 257-61; M. Athar Ali, *The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb*, pp. 74-77.

of the *jagirdar* in the realization of the *mal-i wajib* (revenue).[1] In case of the assignment of more than one *pargana*, the *sanad* gave details, beginning with the total of *jama'* of the assigned territory, followed with *pargana*-wise break-up, including the name of the out going *jagirdar*.[2] These assignments were, in normal times, effective from the beginning of one or the other *fasl* (cropping season) or a defined position (in units of 1/6th) there of. The assignment order normally also instruct the assignee to collect the sanctioned taxes only, also, to work for the extension of cultivation (lit. increase in population).

If a *mansabdar* was assigned a *jagir* in a particular *sarkar* that does not necessarily mean that he held a contiguous area as his *jagir*. It was quite possible that his *jagir* might have been scattered in different *parganas* situated in different parts of the *sarkar*; the same *mansabdar* might also have to share those *parganas* with some other persons.[3]

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1. *Miscellaneous Persian Documents from the Rajasthan Archives*, Transcription No. 85, in the Department of History, A.M.U., Aligarh, pp. 8-9; *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, 91-2.

2. *Miscellaneous Persian Documents*, Transcript No. 85, pp. 8-9.

3. The Amir-ul Umara Shaista Khan held in sarkar Kol the *parganas* of Kol, Jalali, Muh, Tappal, and in *sarkar* Mathura, *parganas* Mahaban and Sadabad, &c.; in *parganas* of Kol, Tappal, Jalali &c. other assignees also held some share; see *Miscellaneous Persian Documents*, Transcript No. 85, pp. 118-9, 136-7.

A statement like[1] حویلی گوالیار بجاگیر اعتبار خان رحمت شد (*haveli* Gwalior assigned to Itibar Khan), or the like, does not necessarily mean that *pargana haveli* Gwalior was assigned in its entirety to Itibar Khan. In this particular case, since Itibar Khan's *mansab* was at that time less than 4,000/1,000[2], his total salary as per schedules then in force, fell short of the *jama'* of *haveli* Gwalior as recorded in the *Ain*.[3]

Due to paucity of information it is difficult to work out the total area or *jama'* that was assigned to the *jagirdars* during any period of time in the 17th century, or for any particular locality. This is because none of the *jagir*-lists for *suba* Agra (or any other *suba*) drawn from the imperial registers of any year whatsoever has been preserved.

The area that was not assigned to anyone and available for assignment was known as *paibaqi*.[4] *Mansabdar's vakils* (agents) stationed at the imperial court often made

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1. *Tuzuk*, 64.

2. This *mansab* was awarded to him in April 1612(*Tuzuk*,106) while the *jagir* was assigned in April-May, 1607(*Tuzuk*,64).

3. According to the salary-schedule given in the *Ain*,I,125, the salary for his *zat* and *savar* mansabs work out at 88,00,000 *dams*, while the *jama'* of *haveli* Gwalior was 1,24,83,000 *dams*(for *jama'* statistics see collated table given as Appendix to chapter on 'Agriculture').

4. Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System*...259n.; M.Athar Ali, *Mughal Nobility*...... , 74.

requests to the emperor for the assignment of *paibaqi* to their patrons whenever through transfers of *jagirs* such *paibaqi* became available.[1]

It is generally believed that *jagirdars* were not allowed to stay in one place for a very long period of time, and that they were transferred, on an average, every three years,[2] so that they might not develop local roots. Still we find substantial *jagirdars* of the *suba* Agra undisturbed in their places of assignments.[3] When the reasons of transfer are stated, it is usually given out that the *jagirdars* had failed to fulfill their duties,[4] or that they were posted for duty at some other locality.[5]

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1. *Akhbarat*, 18 Rabi I, 37 R.Y.; 16 Shaban, 37 R.Y.; *Misc. Persian Documents ......*, Transcript No. 85, pp. 118-9.

2. Irfan Habib, *op.cit.*, 260; M.Athar Ali, *op.cit.*, 78.

3. Thus Itibar Khan remained in *haveli* Gwalior from May, 1607 to March-April 1622, and a little after (*Tuzuk*, 54, 106, 184, 344), ~~over ten~~ about 15 years; Saiyid Khan Jahan, also in Gwalior, from 1627-8 to 1645-46, about 18 years, (Lahori I, 426, 474, II, 407, 425, 473 & c.); for others, like Bahadur Khan, Abdullah Khan etc., see Appendix A.

4. Lahori, II, 425, Azam Khan was removed from Mathura, Mahaban etc., in June-July, 1645.

5. Lahori, II, 136-7, to deal with the situation arising due to the rebellion of Champat Bundela, June-July, 1645, Abdullah Khan was transferred to Mathura region.

The Mughal princes also held assignments in the *suba* Agra;[1] these being usually a part of their total assignments.[2] To judge from the list of *parganas* held in *jagir* by Dara Shukoh, the assigned area within the *suba* did not comprise a contiguous block.[3]

From the 'Account of the Twelve *Subas* in the *Ain* it appears that in the Middle Doab the Rajputs, as a whole, held *zamindari* in *parganas* paying about 75% of the total revenue of the *suba*.[4] But we donot find the local potentates holding any significant posts in the imperial hierarchy which could have entitled them for *watan-jagirs*. Only some Rajput *zamindars* of the trans-Yamuna region were recognised with the title of Raja, held *watan-jagirs*, with high *mansabs*; in *Doab* the only exception seems to be Anirai Singh Dalan who was granted the title of Raja by Jahangir and awarded high *mansab* for his bravery. His son, Jai Ram, inherited

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1. For the assignment of Dara Shukoh see *Zawabit-i Alamgiri*, ff. 148b-156b; and for Prince Muhammad Muizuddin, *Akhbarat*, 1 Rabi, I, 47 R.Y.

2. Dara Shukoh held simulteneous assignments in the *subas* of Punjab, Multan, Malwa, Allahabad & c.; *Ibid*.

3. *Zawabit......*, ff. 148b-156b.

4. See my article, 'Changes in the Caste Composition of the *Zamindar* Class in Western Uttar Pradesh, 1595-c. 1800', *The Indian Historical Review*, Vol. II, No. 1 July 1975), pp. 47-67.

the title.[1] Kirat Singh was given a *watan-jagir* in *parganas* Kama Pahari, Koh Mujahid.[2]

The assignment of *jagir* was made in lieu of pay due to the *mansabdar*. The latter had to perform any duty or function that the Emperor might choose for him. Thus the *jagirdars* served in different parts of the Empire. They were also sent on military compaigns to any part of Empire.[3] It is interesting to note that from amongst the *mansabdars* with a *jagir* within the *suba* itself, only those *mansabdars* who held their *jagir* in Gwalior were appointed governor of the *suba* of Agra,[4] though a few *jagirdars* held higher *mansabs* at that time.[5] This was probably due to the

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1. Raja Bithaldas of Bhoplur held the *mansab* 5,000/5,000, and was appointed interim governor of the *suba* (Lahori, II, 241); Raja Ram Das of Narwar was in the imperial service during the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan, reached the *mansab* 2,000/1,000 under Shah Jahan, on his death his grandson, Amar Singh, too joined the imperial service (Lahori, II, 174). Similarly, Bhadauriyas too served the Mughals. For details see Chapter on *Zamindars*.

2. Lahori, II, 4.

3. Lahori, I, 242, 268,536-38; II, 261-73, 295,&c.; *Misc. Persian Documents ....*, Transcript No. 85, p. 69 & c.

4. In March-May, 1622 Itibar Khan, *jagirdar* of Gwalior from 1607 to 1622, was appointed governor of the suba; see *Tuzuk*, 54,344, *Dutch Chronicle*, 57-60. For the appointment of Saiyid Khan Jahan Barha, *jagirdar* of Gwalior between 1627 and 1646, governor in February 1635, see Lahori,III, 76, and for his second appointment in 1643 see Lahori, II, 344.

5. Abdullah Khan was *jagirdar* of Kanauj and was awarded 5,000 *zat* in the 4th R.Y. by Jahangir (*Tuzuk*, 75). His *mansab* was raised to 6,000/6,000 by Shah Jahan in his

(Continued on next page......)

fact that Gwalior was the charge next in importance to Agra, within the *suba*.

Sometimes a *jagirdar* was also appointed *faujdar* of the area assigned to him in *jagir*. Thus in a document containing particulars of Raja Bishan Singh's *faujdari* jurisdiction we find that some large *jagirdars* were granted *faujdari* rights in some *parganas* within their *jagir*; while in other *parganas* the Raja exercised *faujdari* jurisdiction. He himself exercised *faujdari* rights in some of his own *parganas*.[1]

From Appendix 'A' it would appear that *jagirs* to high nobles were usually assigned in the *sarkars* of Kalpi, Kanauj, Gwalior, Mathura and Kol. The *sarkars* of Kalpi, Kanauj and Gwalior were particularly important during the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Mathura was created as

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(Continued from previous page...)

4th R.Y. He was *jagirdar* of Kalpi, Kanauj or Mathura between 1604 and 1642, and his *mansab* was higher than that of Khan Jahan Barha - 4,000/3,000 in 1634-35, or 6,000/6,000 in 1643-44, when Khan Jahan became governor of the *suba*, still we find that Abdullah Khan was not appointed as the governor. Also see the Appendix 'A'.

1. For his *faujdari* jurisdiction and jagir see *Misc. Persian Documents ....*, Transcript No. 85, pp.135-37.

a separate sarkar under Shah Jahan. The assignment of Kalpi to high ranked nobles was probably to check the activities of the Bundelas. Gwalior is situated on the strategic route to the Deccan, and its isolated hill-fortress was a military position of great importance. It also contained a major imperial prison.

About the administrative structure of the jagir, in the suba Agra, very little specific information is available. The basic principle behind the assignment of a jagir was to divest the government of the burden of land-revenue collection; by transferring the jagirs the imperial government prevented the assignees developing local roots and becoming autonomous.

APPENDIX

JAGIR ASSIGNMENTS IN SUBA AGRA (as recorded mainly in chronicles)

S.No.	Name	Known Period	Mansab	Other Assignments	Sources
1	2	3	4	5	10
1.	FATEHPUR & BAYANA				
1.	Islam Khan	July.-Aug. 1645	-	-	Lahori, II, 431.
2.	Mirza Hasan Safavi	July.-Aug. 1645	3000/2000	Faujdar Fatehpur & Bayana.	Ibid., Ma'asir-ul Umara, III, 473.
	BRACHH, BHANDER, KANAURI &c.				
1.	Saiyid Shujat Khan	1632-Dec. 1642	4000/2000	-	Ma'asir-ul Umara, III, 426 Lahori, II, 307, 309.
2.	Nijabat Khan	Jan, 1648-Nov. 1649	5000/4000	-	Waris, 71, 129.
	GWALIOR				
1.	Itibar Khan Khwaja Sara	May, 1607	4000/1000	-	Tuzuk, 54.
		March-April, 1617	5000/4000	-	Ibid., 106.
		March-April, 1622	5000/4000	Governor of Agra	Ibid., 344.
		1622-23	6000/5000		Ma'asir-ul Umara, I, 135.

....(ii)

2.	Saiyid Khan Jahan Barah, *alias* Abul Muzaffar.	1627-8	4000/3000		*Ma'asir-ul Umara*, I,753-59
		May-June, 1632			Lahori, II,426,474,536-8, 540.
		March, 1634		Governor of Agra.	*Ibid*., III,76,275, II,104, 233.
		July, 1641	6000/6000 (5000x2-3h)		*Ibid*.,235; also see pp.261-73,309.
		Nov. 1643		Governor of Agra.	*Ibid*.,344; also, pp.404-5, 407,425.
		Dec. 1645	DIED		*Ibid*., 473.
	JALESAR				
1.	Mirza Hasan Safavi.	Sept.1639	2500/1400		Lahori, II,163-4.
		Nov. 1641	3000/1500		*Ibid*., 246.
		April, 1642			*Ibid*.,261-8, 245.
2.	Sa'dullah Khan	Feb. 1653			Waris, 208.
	KALPI				
1.	Matlab Khan	1583-4			*Akbar Nama*, III,415.
2.	Shahbaz Khan	1583-4		stationed at Swad	*Ibid*., 584.
3.	Qasim Ali Khan	1590-1			*Ibid*., 585.

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4.	Ismail Quli Khan	1593-4	4000 <u>zat</u>		<u>Ibid</u>., 651,721.
5.	Abdullah Khan, <u>alias</u> Khwaja Abdullah	1604-5 June, 1605	2500/500		<u>Ibid</u>., 334. <u>Tuzuk</u>, 39.
6.	Qulij Khan	March 1607			<u>Tuzuk</u>, 40.
7.	Khan Khanan	1607-8	2000/1500		<u>Tuzuk</u>, 96.
8.	Abdullah Khan	1611-12	5000 <u>zat</u>	Governor of Gujarat.	<u>Ibid</u>., 97.
		1619-20 to 1623-4			<u>Dutch Chronicle</u>, 52-3, 55, 61.
9.	Bahadur Khan Ruhela	March 1628	4000/3000		Lahori, Ii, 117, 191; Qazwini 285.
10.	Abdullah Khan	May 1630-Jan 1631			Lahori, Ii, 302, 334-5.
		March, 1647			Waris, 36.
11.	Bahadur Khan	March 1647			<u>Ibid</u>.
12.	Puran Mal Bundela	June 1655			Waris, 305.
	<u>KAMA PAHARI ETC.</u>				
1.	Kirat Singh s.o. Raja Jai Singh	April-May, 16[illegible]	800/800		Waris, 138.

KANAUJ

1.	Shaham Khan	1596-7	3000 *zat*		*Akbar Nama*, III,726; *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, II,605.
2.	Abdur Rahim Khan-i Khanan	1606-7	2000/1500		*Tuzuk*, 51,also p.96.
3.	Khawas Khan	1616-17			*Ibid*., 161.
4.	Saiyid Abdul Waris	1616-17			*Ibid*., 161.
5.	Abdullah Khan	July,1628	5000/5000		Lahori,I1,204;Qazwini,309-10.
		Oct.-Nov.1628		To chastise Jujhar Singh Bundela	Lahori,I1, 242.
		March,1643			*Ibid*.,II, 322.

KOL

1.	Wijabat Khan	Oct. 1635		*Faujdar* Kol	Lahori,I11, 121.
		Jan. 1637	3000/2500		*Ibid*., 242.
		July 1637	3000/3000		*Ibid*., 275.
		Aug. 1639			*Ibid*., II, 155.

MALKUSAH

1.	Abdur Rahim Khan-i Khanan	1626-7			*Ma'asir-ul Umara*,

.... (v)

MATHURA

1.	Isa Tarkhan	Oct. 1628	4000/2500		Lahori, II,230,244; *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, III,437.
2.	Allahwardi Khan	Aug.-Sept.1638			Lahori, II,111,112,154
		Aug.-Sept.1939	5000/5000	Governor of Delhi.	*Ibid.*, 158.
		Aug. 1642			*Ibid.*, 308-9.
3.	Abdullah Khan Feruz Jung	Feb.-March, 1639	6000/6000		Lahori, II,136-7; *Ma'asir-ul Umara*,
		1640-1642			Lahori, II,193-5,247,307.
4.	Azam Khan	Aug. 1642			*Ibid.*, 308-9.
		1643-1645			*Ibid.*, 319,333,334,387, 408-10, 425
5.	Makramat Khan	June 1645	4000/4000 (2000x2-3h)	Governor of Delhi	Lahori, II,425.
		Nov.1646-Dec.1649	4000/4000 (3000x2-3h)		*Ibid.*,610; Waris,199.

RUPBAS

1.	Rup Khawas	1613-14			*Tuzuk*, 123.
2.	Aman Ullah	1613-14			*Ibid.*, 123.

CHAPTER V

TAXATION SYSTEM

As we shall see in succeeding chapter the economy of the Agra suba was basically an agricultural economy, but with substantial manufactures and inland and export trade. The mass of the population lived at a bare subsistence level. A major burden upon them lay in the form of the surplus product extracted from them as land-revenue. The nature of land-revenue, and the various methods by which it was assessed have been discussed at length in modern works; and it is not the purpose here to go over any part of the ground already covered by them. But many questions still arise from the evidence relating to suba Agra itself, which need elucidation.

The first question concerns changes in the magnitude of land revenue demand. The A'in is the only source which provides us with details of land-revenue demand for different crops. It does so for different years, for the suab as a whole, until Akbar's 24th regnal year (' the 19 - year rates'). Then follow the permanent rates (dasturs) for different revenue - circles within

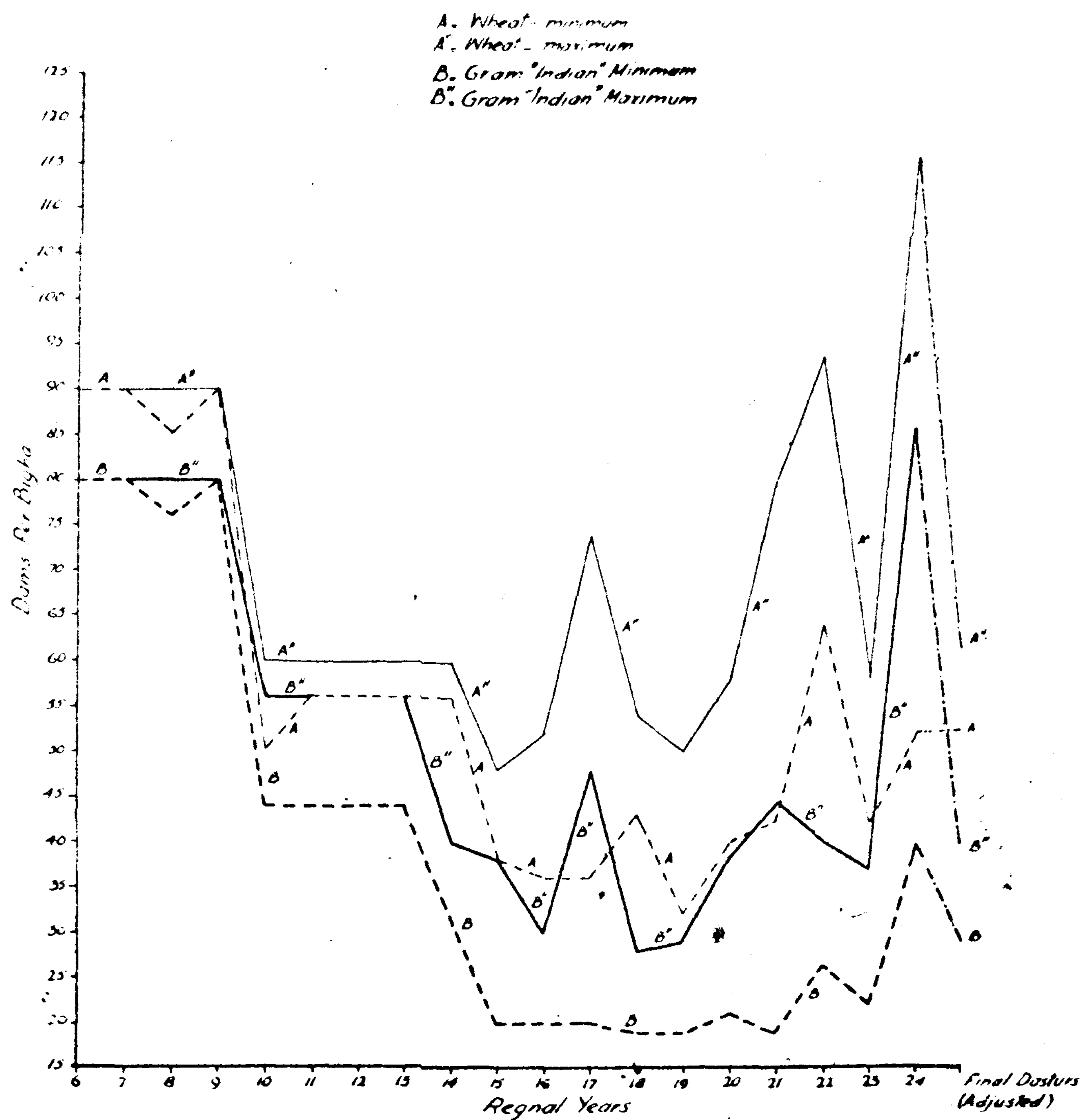
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1. Ain., ed. Blochmann, I, 306-310; Add. 7652, f. 152-a-b; Add. 6552, f. 137 a-b.

(in dams)

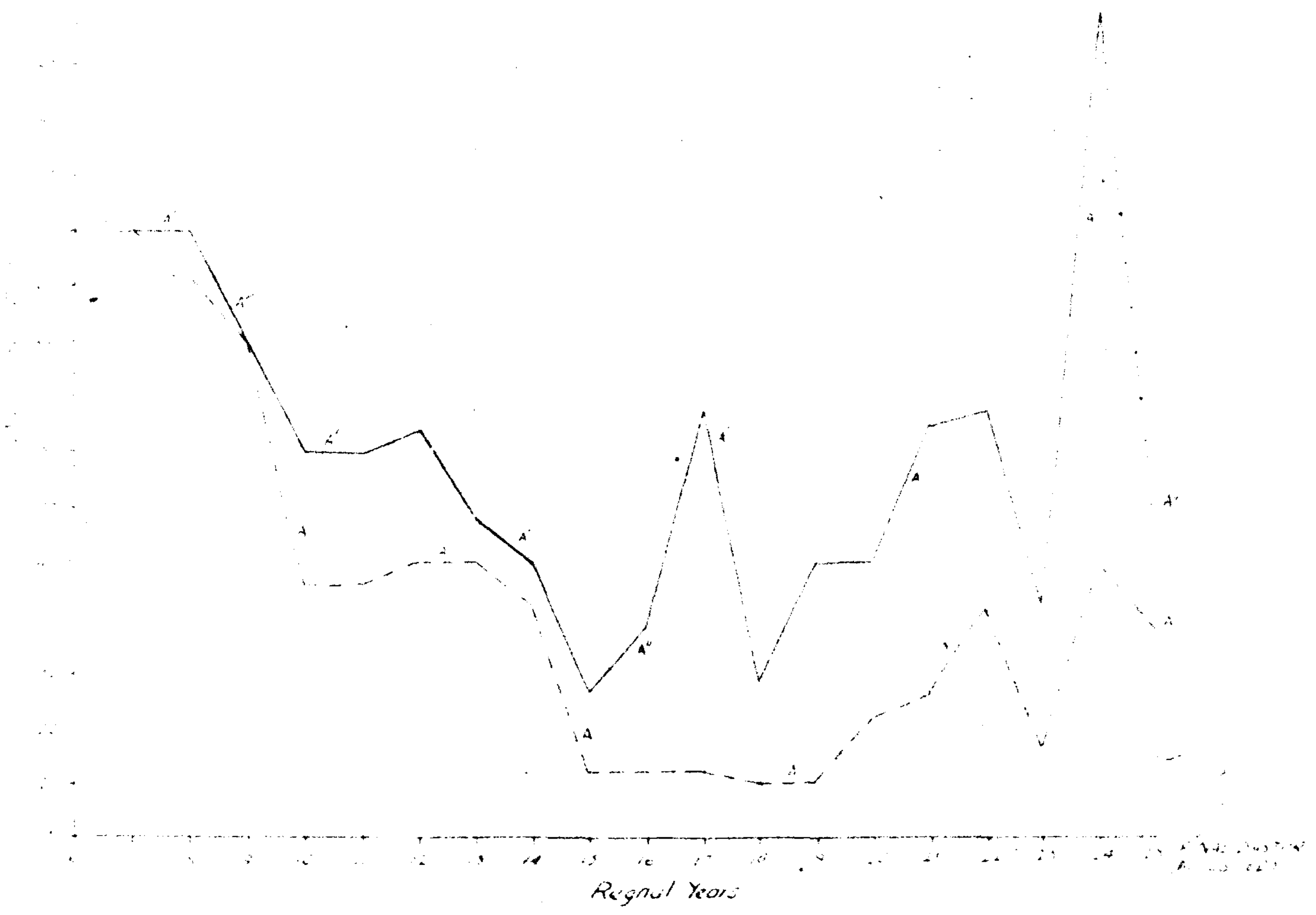
Sl.No.	Regnal Year	CROPS						
		Wheat	Gram(Indian)	Barley	Rice(Common)	Sugar-cane (Common)	Cotton	Indigo
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1.	6th & 7th	90	80	70	70	180	120	140
2.	8th	80-90	76-80	66-70	70	180	120	140
3.	9th	90	80	60	70	180	130	160
4.	10th	50-60	44-56	38-50	60	140-160	110	140
5.	11th	56-60	44-56	38-50	52-60	140-160	110	140
6.	12th	56-60	44-56	40-52	58-60	140-160	110	130-140
7.	13th	56-60	44-56	40-44	56-60	140-160	110	130
8.	14th	56-60	38-40	36-40	44-52	134-158	70-92	126-136
9.	15th	38-48	20-38	21-28	36-45	112-176	90	126-132
10.	16th	36-52	20-30	21-34	36-52	100-150	85-90	126-136
11.	17th	36-76	20-48	21-54	36-45	90-134	70-90	124-132
12.	18th	43-54	19-28	20-28	36-50	96-134	68-90	116-140

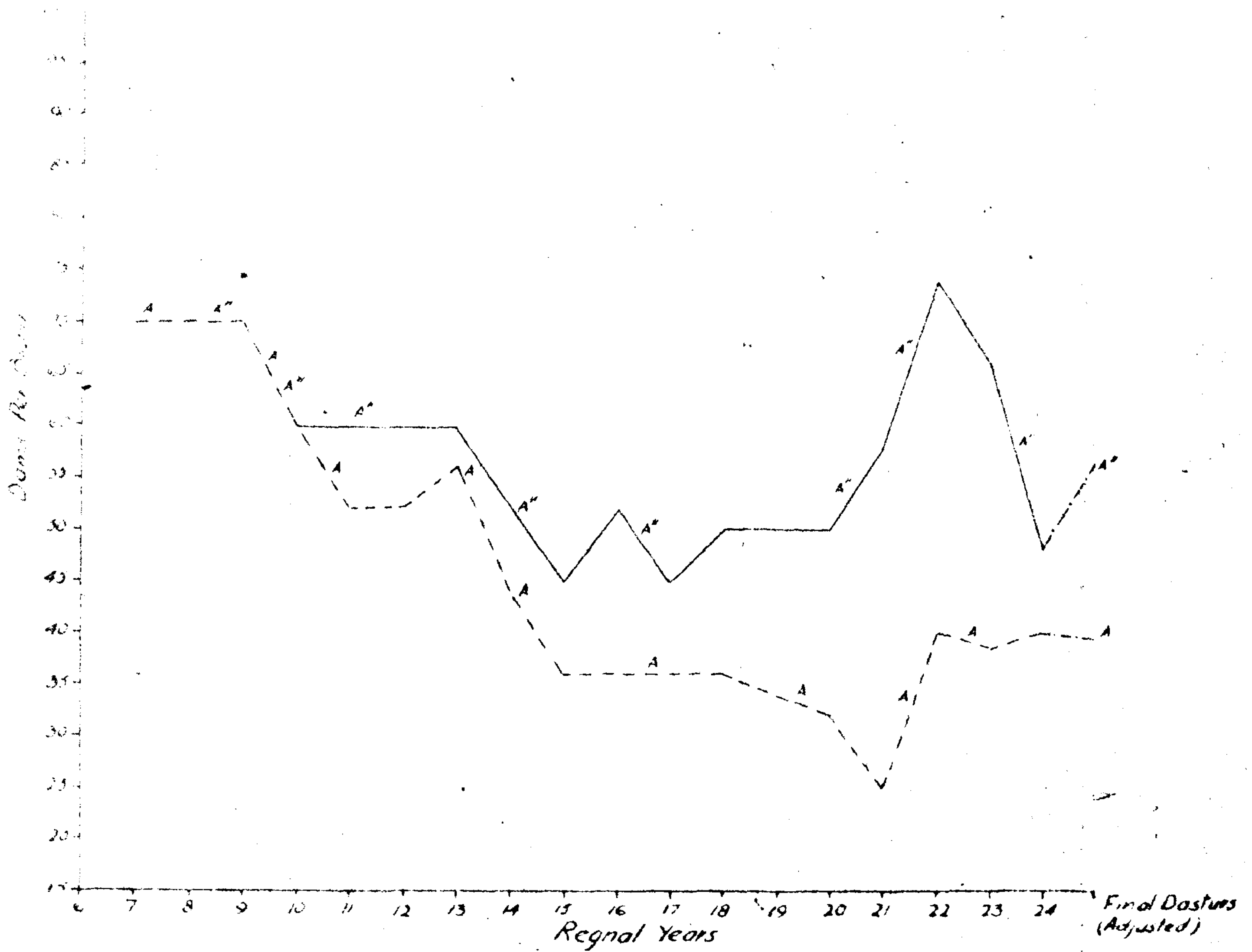
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
13.	19th	38-50	19-29	20-40	34-50	96-134	70-90	116-136
14.	20th	40-58	31-38½	26-40	32-50	96-139	69-94	130-140
15.	21st	48½-80	19-44½	28-52½	25-58	104-170	76-101½	136-140
16.	22nd	64-94	26½-40	36-54	40-74	100-140	60-90	130-140
17.	23rd	42-58	28-37	23-36	35½-66	76-100	44-58	136-140
18.	24th	52-116	40-86	40-90	40-48	88-126	44-60	136-140
	Final Posture (-11.7%)	52.28-61.6	28.85-39.55	34.02-44.31	39.55-56.56	107.53-166.16	70.83-84.37	139.66-146.46



A. Wheat - minimum
A". Wheat - maximum
B. Gram "Indian" Minimum
B". Gram "Indian" Maximum
Dams Per Bigha
Regnal Years
Final Dasturs (Adjusted)

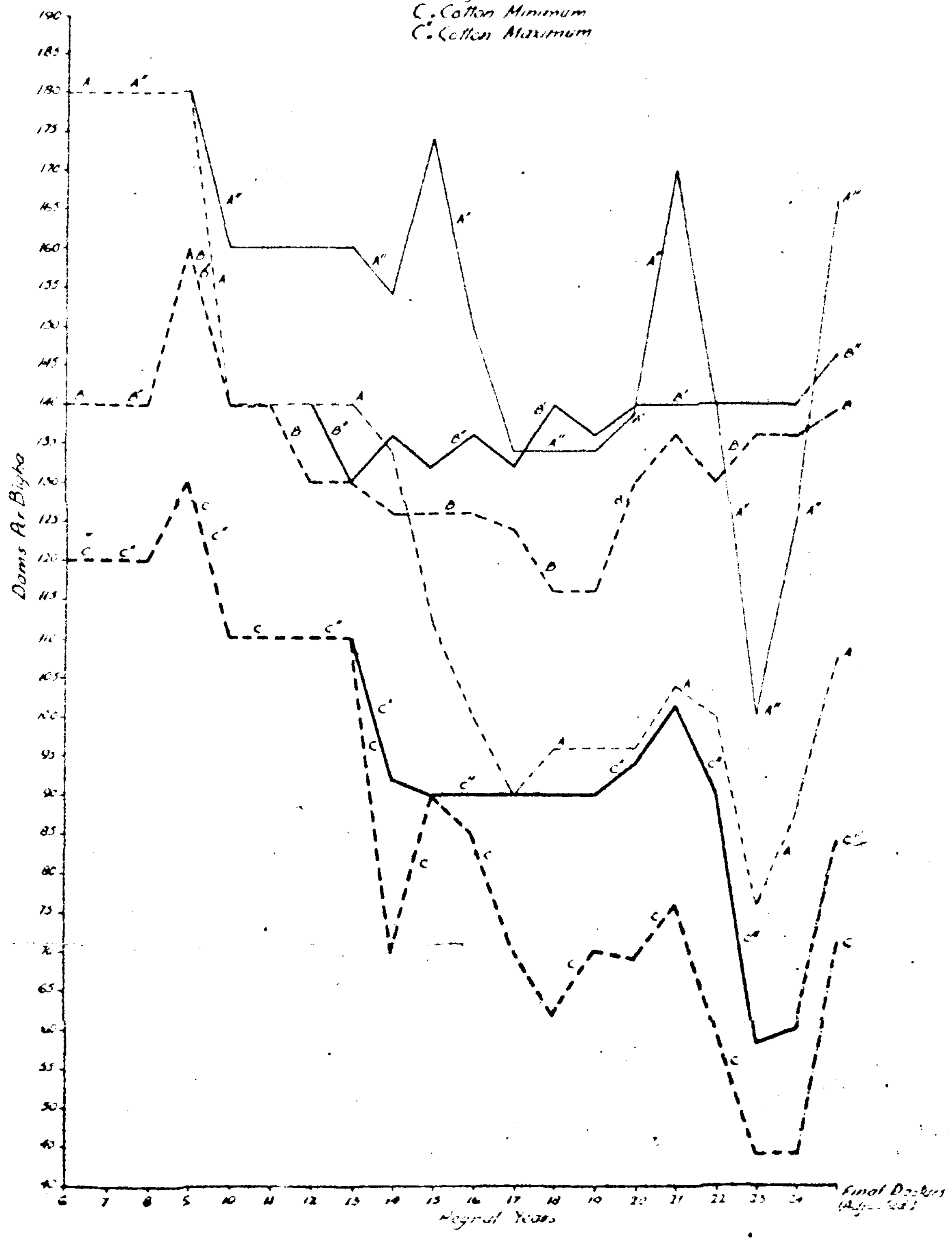
II




A Rice (Common) Minimum
A' Rice (Common) Maximum
Dams Per Seer
Regnal Years
Final Dasturs (Adjusted)

CASH CROPS

A. Sugarcane (common) Minimum
A". Sugarcane (common) Maximum
B. Indigo Minimum
B". Indigo Maximum
C. Cotton Minimum
C". Cotton Maximum



the *suba*. The attached table and graphs depict the fluctuations in maximum and minimum of the 19-year rates (*dams* per *bigha*), and show the final *dasturs* after adjustments necessitated by a change in the size of the *bigha*.[1] Seven major crops have been selected, out of the long crop-list of the *A'in*. Looking at the table and the graphs one notices a general tendency for the revenue rates to fall until the 15th year, in respect of all the crops. Thereafter a different picture emerges. We notice considerable fluctuations in the maximum rates for *rabi* crops; and there is a very distinct increase, in both minimum and maximum rates, in the 24th year. But the final *dasturs* show a definite decrease in comparison to the rates sanctioned in the 24th year. On the other hand, rice - a *kharif* crop - shows far less fluctuations during the years after the 15th year. In the case of cash crops, on the other hand, these are no great fluctuations in the 19-year rates, but there is a sharp increase in the final *dasturs*.

In the absence of evidence which could give any idea of the actual yield per unit for different crops, it is not possible to discover the actual share of the produce that the final *dasturs* represented. There is only one crop in whose

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1. The measured area of a *bigha* was increased by 11.7% in the 32 A.Y. and the final *dasturs* were, probably, reproduced in the *A'in* in their corrected forms in 1595. This percentage has been deducted from the final *dasturs*. See also, Irfan Habib, 210, 353-55.

case it is remotely possible. Pelsaert,[1] while discussing the manufacture of indigo dye in the Bayana tract, says that normally the yield of one *bigha* was put into one cistern, and that a single cistern produced about 12 to 20 seers of indigo (by 'Ilahi' weight). Now, since the local *bigha*, according to Pelsaert was 100 'ell' by 100 'ell',[2] whereas the *Ilahi bigha* was equal to 120 x 120 'ell', to convert the produce of the customary *bigha* into the *Ilahi* we should multiply it by $\frac{144}{100}$. In other words the *Ilahi-bigha* ought to have produced 17 to 29 *seers*. Now the *A'in* notices that indigo fetched Rs. 10 to 16 per *maund*. At this price, the value of the total yield per *bigha* should have been between Rs. 4.25 and 11.6 . The final *dastur* for indigo in the Bayana circle being Rs. 3.95, the share of produce it represented should have ranged between 93% and 34%. This means that normally, the rates should have inhibited cultivation of indigo in lands that yielded less than 20 (*Ilahi*) seers of dye; and even in the best lands and at the maximum price, more than a third of the produce would have had to be sold to pay the land-revenue.

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1. Pelsaert, 11.

2. Pelsaert, 29.

Unfortunately, there is nothing in the subsequent records paralleling the A'in's detailed dastur-tables. The total assessed revenue or jama-dami statistics, however, enable us to form some idea of the increase in the total amount of taxation. The information available is tabled below:[1]

Sl.No.	Year	Source	Jama-dami (in dams)	Index
1.	1595-96	A'in	54,62,50,304	100
2.	1605	Iqbalnama-i Jahangiri	77,04,89,055	141.05
3.	pre-1627	Majalis-us Salatin	82,25,00,000	150.55
4.	1628-36	Bayaz-i Khushbu'i	77,04,89,055	141.05
5.	1633-38	Farang-i Kardani	94,11,60,000	172.29
6.	1646-47	Add. 16,863	96,99,27,705	177.55
7.	1646-56	Dastur-al Amal-i Navisindagi	100,90,00,000	184.71
8.	c.1656	Dastur-al Amal-i Alamgiri	1,36,46,02,117	249.80
9.	c.1667	Mirat-al Alam	1,05,17,09,283	192.53
10.	1687-c.1691	Zavabit-i Alamgiri	1,14,17,00,157	209.00
11.	1687-c.1695	Frazer 86	1,14,17,60,157	209.01
12.	1687	Intikhab-i Dastur-al Amal-i Padshahi	1,14,17,00,157	209.00
13.	c.1700	Dastur-al Amal Shahjahani	96,12,68,015	175.974
14.	c.1709	Jagjivandas: Muntakhab-ut Tavarikh	1,14,17,60,057	209.01

1. Reproduced from Irfan Habib, 397, 402. Figures from the Dastur-al Amal Shahjahani are added by us.

It can be seen from this table that there is a steady rise in the *jama-dami* of the *suba* in the first half of the 17th century, followed by a spectacular ascent, c. 1656; and then, after as great a decline, the *jama-dami* continues at a figure about twice that of the *A'in*, for the rest of the century.

The *jama-dami* has been given *sarkar*-wise in only a few of the sources. This information is indexed below with the *A'in*'s figure for the same *sarkar* = 100.

Sl.No.	Sarkars	A'in 1595	Dastur-al Amal-i Alamgiri c. 1656	Dastur-al Amal-i Shahjahani c. 1700	Chahar Gulshan c. 1720 [1]
1.	Total	100	249.811	175.974	164.144
2.	Agra[2]	100	229.387	202.408	?[3]
3.	Kalpi	100	336.111	148.446	140.325
4.	Kanauj	100	350.006	216.710	192.272
5.	Kol	100	424.670	209.319	184.158

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1. There are some variations in the MSS. These figures have been taken after collating Ms. Nos. 292/2, 78, 87/7 of Maulana Azad Library, (A.M.U.), and Sarkar's copy (*India of Aurangzeb*).

2. *A'in* and the *Chahar Gulshan* show Sahar as a separate *sarkar* and *pargana* of Mathura (Islamabad) in the *sarkar* of Agra, but *Dastur-al Amal-i Shahjahani* and *Dastur-al Amal-i Alamgiri* show Islamabad as separate *sarkar* and Sahar disappears. The *jama-dami* of Agra, Sahar and Islamabad have been taken up together and shown under Agra, in our table.

3. Crore figures in all the MSS. are missing; it is therefore difficult to calculate the index No.

6.	Gwalior	100	108.482	156.983	150.144
7.	Erachh	100	483.922	579.859	235.442
8.	Payanwan	100	616.006	219.135	418.099
9.	Narwar	100	585.164	134.965[1]	386.487
10.	Mandlaer	100	483.959	150.561	535.607
11.	Alwar	100	255.447	222.828	240.846

The above table also shows a decline in the jama-dami in all, but two, sarkars - after 1656.

The available hasil (actual collection) figures also show a tendency to decline in the second half of the 17th century, as is evident from the following table:

Sl. No.	Year	Source	Hasil (Rs.)	Index	Hasil-i Kamil (Rs.)	Index No.
1.	1681-91	Zawabit-i Alamgiri	-		2,06,97,371	100
2.	1687-95	Frazer 66	1,82,67,000	100	2,00,71,103	96.974
3.	c.1700	Dastur-al Amal-i Shahjahani	2,62,84,470	143.94	-	-
4.	1709	Jagjivandas: Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh	68,92,897	37.73	1,30,97,371	63.280

1. The text figure is 56,00,74,810 dams, which seems to be a copyists mistake, and has been corrected to 56,74,810 dams.

The increase and decline in the _jama-dami_ and _hasil_ seems to have been closely linked with the changes in the value of money. The establishment of direct trade with the Europe resulted in great silver influx during the 17th century. Thus the value of copper _dams_ appreciated in terms of silver and in 1626 we find that value of one silver rupee stood at 29-30 _dams_.[1] This must have affected the prices in the _suba_ of Agra.[2] But this increase in the prices probably led to an increase in the revenue demand, finding its reflection in higher _jama-dami_, which though nominally expressed in _dams_, was really expressed in silver, since its unit was a _dam_ of account, valued at the fixed rate of 1/40 of silver rupee. It is difficult to speak with exactitude, but it would seem that the increase in _jama-dami_ was sufficient to cancel all benefits to the peasants that might have accrued from higher prices.

It may, however, be supposed that part of the increase in the revenue was at least partly due to the extension in

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1. Pelsaert, 29, 60.
2. Irfan Habib, 88-89, 392-93: The depreciation in silver affected both gold and copper, and stood (taking _A'in_'s gold and copper prices of the rupee as the base=100)- as 126 (gold) and 161 (copper) in 1626. After a slight recovery another fall began in the 1640's and copper reached 276 in 1662 and gold 178 in 1666. In the later 1670's there was a slight recovery, but by the end of the century gold approached 150 and copper stood at above 200.

cultivation. Unfortunately, the measured area statistics in the *A'in-i Akbari* and later records like *Chahar Gulshan* cannot be compared for the purpose of determining the extent of increase in cultivation. This is because large cultivated tracts were left unmeasured in both periods; and an increase in the measured area might signify nothing more than an increase in the area brought under survey. Until we are able to have some better evidence, the precise extent to which extension in cultivation caused the upswing in total taxation must be left an open question.

Land-revenue must have been the main component in both *jama-dami* and *hasil*. But there were a large number of other taxes as well, the burden of which fell on the peasantry. Such taxes were known as *wujuhat*.

In market places contracts were granted to individuals to charge *biyai* from the weighers' perquisites.[1] Since it was mainly the food-grains which was weighed this cess was indirectly levied on the peasants. Merchandise in transit

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1. Jhaveri, *Imperial Farmans granted to the ancestors of.... the Tikayat Maharaj*, Doc. No. IX, pp. 57-58, refers to one Natha, who wanted the right (*biyai*) of receipt of the perquisites of weighers in the market of Gokul, and pay the government Rs.176/- per annum.

was subjected to transit duties, called rahdari,[1] which was, perhaps, fixed on the estimated value of the goods. Sometimes merchants were able to secure imperial sanctions for its exemption through bribery and presents.[2]

A great many exactions and perquisites of the revenue officials were levied on the peasantry. Among these were: nesh-kash, muqaddami, saddoi,[3] kah-charai,[4] qunalgha,[5] muhassilana,[6] daroghana,[7] jaribana,[8] zabitana,[9] takrar-i zirat,[10] zabt-i-harasala ba'd az tashkhis-i chak (annual survey after initial demarcation of the land of the grant).[11] Also the cattle were

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1. Factories (1642-45), 159-60; (1646-50), 320.
2. Ibid.(1642-45), 159-60; (1646-50), 320; (1665-67), 274.
3. Jhaveri, Doc. VI, It was fixed at 2% of the land revenue, and was equally devided between the qanungo and the patwari; Shamsabad Doc. Nos. 10, 15; Irfan Habib: The Indian Eco. and Eco. Hist. Review, Vol. IV, No.3, Sept. 1967, pp. 210-11.
4. Grazing tax, Jhaveri, Doc. XII.
5. Gift of Yogurt from the peasants (Yasin's dictionary of technical terms).
6. Fee for tax gatherer, Jhaveri Doc. XIV.
7. Darogha's fees, Jhaveri, Doc. XIV.
8. Fee for measurement; Shamsabad Doc. Nos. 10, 15; Irfan Habib, op.cit., 210.
9. Ibid., surveyor's perquisite, being one dam per bigha.
10. Ibid., insistence that land be cultivated.
11. Ibid., Doc. 15.

subjected to tax if a cultivator kept any animal over four bullocks, two cows and one buffalo.[1]

In addition to these, a five per cent duty on manufactures was charged,[2] and a tax on the produce of trees was levied, though exemptions were sometimes granted.[3] Poor people were also subjected to _shikar_ (work during a hunt by officials) and _begar_ (forced labour, usually for transport of baggage, &c.).[4]

In the case of a large number of these taxes we are unable to assess their magnitude, and it is not always certain that the corrupt officials kept themselves within the prescribed limits. These cesses taken together could have amounted to large sums, and, thus, would have represented a very great burden upon the peasantry.

It will appear from the above discussion that the peasants were subjected to such heavy taxation and illegal exactions that only the bare minimum were left with them. Even when the peasant might have enjoyed some benefits due to a rise in prices of his produce, these were cancelled by

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1. _A'in_, I, 287.
2. Jhaveri, Doc. VI.
3. _Ibid._, Doc. IV, VIII; _Tuzuk_, 251-52.
4. _Ibid._, Doc. XIV.

an enhanced land revenue demand. Not only that, they were, sometimes, required to pay the tax before their harvest was cut defaulters being severely punished.[1] Due to this severity in collection peasants were said to have no option but to sell their children for slavery,[2] flee the land,[3] or take recourse to rebellion. Whenever they revolted they were pitilessly slaughtered.[4]

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1. Mundy, II, 74: "Heere nowe are in this Castle (at Kol) about 200 of them prisoners, because they can not pay the tax imposed on them, which heretofore was paid when their corne was sold; but now they must pay for it in the ground".

2. Pelsaert, 47; Mundy, II, 90.

3. Xavier, 121; Pelsaert, 47; Tavernier, I, 191: "...... peasants have fled on account of oppression of the governors ....(and they have) become soldiers or facirs".

4. Mundy, II, 90: "From Buckever hither were about 200 Munaries (minar, pillar), with heads mortered and plaistered in, leaveinge out nothing but their verie face, ...Forthis way was soe pestered with Rebbells and Theeves, that there was no passinge; soe that the Kinge sent Abdulla Ckaun, with 12,000 horse, and 20,000 foote to suppresse them....."; such a big force could only have been employed to suppress a rebellion. Also see Manucci, II, 398: that "15,000 soldiers were garrisoned at Agra, mainly to crush the rebellion of peasantry, who are much inclined to rebellion".

CHAPTER - VI

AGRICULTURAL AND NON-AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

Agricultural Production:

The description of the 'Twelve Subas' in the A'in-i Akbari provides us with valuable statistics about the revenue and area of the different parganas and sarkars (composed of parganas) of suba Agra. These statistics are under the headings —pargnat, qila, arazi, naqdi, sayurghal, zamindar, sawar, and piyada. The tabular form in which the statistics are given in the MSS has been dropped in Blochmann's edition, and its restoration by Jarrett in his translation is not faithful to the original.[1] Moreover, there are misprints also that mar a number of figures in Blochmann's edition. In order to use the A'in's statistics properly, one must therefore go back to the early MS copies. I have accordingly used British Museum Add. 7652, Add. 6552, and Add. 5645.

Moreland was first to recognise the full value of A'in's statistics. He sought to compare the arazi figures with the modern gross cropped area statistics of certain districts of Western and Eastern Uttar Pradesh.[2]

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1. Irfan Habib, 'The Zamindars in the A'in', Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 1958, pp. 320-21.
2. Journal of the U.P. Historical Societies, Vol. II (1919), Part 1, pp. 1-39.

Apart from Moreland's use of the statistics in Jarrett's translation, which contains various errors, it is questionable (a) whether the _arazi_ of the _A'in_ means GCA (Gross Cropped Area), and (b) whether if the _arazi_ figure is given it means that the entire GCA in the respective _pargana_ had been measured by the Mughal administration. It has been suggested that (a) the _arazi_ did not consist simply of GCA, but also included Cultivable Waste (CW) (i.e. the waste at the time thought to be cultivable), and (b) it is possible that certain areas were not actually measured at that time.[1] It would thus seem that GCA in 1595, is to be regarded as equal to _arazi_ less CW, but plus unmeasured portion of GCA.

It would have been advisable therefore for Moreland to take the modern GCA and CW statistics in order to make a comparative study of the _A'in_'s statistics. It is less easy to suggest how he should have accounted for the unmeasured area. But two possible devices are possible, to enable us to obtain rough indicators. First, by dividing the _arazi_ of a _pargana_ or _sarkar_, measured from the map, by the actual _jama_ or _naqdi_ (revenue), we can get _jama_ per _bigha_ of _arazi_.

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1. Irfan Habib, _Agrarian System of Mughal India_, p. 6.

where the revenue per *bigha* is exceptionally high, compared to other areas, one can conjecture that in such cases one can assume a low proportion measured area. To this, of course, *parganas* containing large cities, such as *Agra ba haveli*, are exceptions. Other exceptions may be tracts under *zamindars* or chiefs from whom relatively small amounts were collected as revenue, so that there a low rate did not mean a high proportion of measured area.

Table-A gives the revenue/*arazi* figures for all the *parganas* and *sarkars* of the Agra *suba*. It would be seen that the range of variation in the *dam/bigha* in most *parganas* is between 10 and 40 *dams*. Apart from, Erachh, Payanwan, Narwar, Mandrael and Kalpi, which were largely under chiefs, the *dam / bigha* rates under each *sarkar* work out as follows:

TABLE-A

Sarkar	Based on stated totals of *sarkars*	Based on actual totals of *parganas* in *sarkars*
Agra	21.08	20.43
Kanauj	18.97	18.66
Kol	21.97	21.87
Gwalior	26.90	19.98
Alwar	23.97	23.15
Tijara	23.92	26.00
Narnaul	24.64	24.64
Sahar	7.76	7.73

From the *dastur*-rates set out in the *A'in* for the various *dastur*-circles,[1] it appears that except for Sahar, all the other *sarkars* show average *dam* /*bigha* rates that are slightly lower than what one would expect them to be on the basis of the *dastur*-rates. The *dastur* (cash revenue-rate) on wheat, for example, ranged from about 60 to 68 *dams*, ordinary rice, 44 to 63 *dams*, gram about 34 to 45 *dams*, *juwar* 32 to 46, peas 29 to 33 *dams*, *bajra* (*lahdra*) 24 to 32 *dams*, *sanwan* 12 to 15 *dams*. The low revenue/area ratio very strongly suggests that (a) the *arazi* probably included CW besides GCA; and (b) the bulk of the GCA + CW in the *sarkars* listed above was actually measured.

The second device is reference to the statistics of Aurangzeb's reign and the *Chahar Gulshan*. These statistics give the number of villages in the Agra *suba* as 30, 180, out of which 2,877 were unmeasured, while the remaining 27,303 villages returned measured area statistics.[2] This suggests forcibly that by this time practibly 90% of the

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1. *A'in*, II, 21.

2. Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 4.

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1. *A'in*, II, 21.

2. Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 4.

arazi in the suba was under measurement. Unfortunately, there is no sarkar-wise break up of this kind in these statistics. But, broadly speaking, a comparison of the arazi figures of the A'in with the measured area figures in the Chahar Gulshan should help us in locating the sarkar, if any at the time of A'in where there was backwardness in undertaking measurement.

TABLE -B

Area in bigha-i Ilahi[1]

(000 omitted)

Sarkar	A'in c. 1595	Chahar Gulshan[2]	Per cent increase/decrease
1. Agra	9,180	8,728	-4.93
2. Kol	2,464	2,764	+12.0
3. Kanauj	2,777	3,642	+31.1
4. Kalpi	1,733	2,529	+46.0
5. Shahpur	--	929	....
6. Sehar	765	951	+24.3
7. Alwar	1,632	1,638	+ 1.0
8. Mandrael	65	3,195	+4915.4
9. Narwar	394	2,764	+701.5
10. Payanwan	1,890	833	-56.0
11. Gwalior	1,546	1,780	+15.0
12. Erachh	2,203	2,229	+ 1.0
Actual total of above	24,649	32,002	+29.8
Total of the suba	24,461	37,283	+[illegible].3

1. The Chahar Gulshan figures are in bigha-i daftari, which have been converted into bigha-i Ilahi, the former being two-thirds of the bigha-i Ilahi, see Irfan Habib, Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 3.

2. These statistics have been collatted from the MSS

(foot-note continue on next page)

From this table it would appear that the main advance in measurement took place in the *sarkars* of Kanauj, Kalpi, Sahar, Mandrael, and Narwar. Partly, of course, the large measured area might represent an extention of cultivation, but the enormous increase in Kalpi, Mandrael and Narwar cannot surely be due to this cause. In the Kanauj *sarkar*, measurement to reach 90% of the total had only to increase by about 30%, Sahar by 24%; and allowing for a natural increase in cultivation, it probably means that in the time of the *A'in* in these two *sarkars* the bulk of the *arazi* was probably fully under measurement.

Having thus established that the *arazi* figures for the various *sarkars* of the Agra *suba* in Table -A give us workable figure of GCA + CW, I have attempted a comparison with the statistics, district-wise. I have taken the *A'in*'s figures for *parganas*, lying within each modern district, and then set their totals by the sides of 1909-10 statistics[1] (Areas in both are converted into square miles).

...foot-note continued from last page ...

preserved at the Maulana Azad Library (A.M.U.), Nos.292/62, 69, and 87/7, and Bodl. Elliot. 366; J. Sarkar's translation (*India of Aurangzeb*).

There is one important variation in MS readings: Sarkar's figure for the *sarkar* Agra seems highly inflated, and the correct figure is probably 8.7 million as given in other MSS rather than 13.4 million. But then we would have to explain.

1. *The Agricultural Statistics of India*, Vol. I.

TABLE - C

Districts	Measured Area	G.C.A. 1909-10	Per cent increase decrease	GCA + CW 1909-10	Per cent increase decrease
Agra	2,467.8	1,380.7	- 44.1	1,892.3	- 23.3
Aligarh	1,587.9	1,714.6	+ 7.9	1,860.5	+ 17.1
Etah	970.1	1,330.7	+ 37.1	1,695.6	+ 74.8
Etawah	677.8	1,013.5	+ 49.5	1,422.0	+109.6
Mainpuri	1,296.4	1,090.9	- 15.2	1,265.5	- 2.4
Farrukhabad	1,063.0	1,228.0	+ 15.5	1,540.4	+ 44.9
Mathura	1,372.1	1,168.1	- 14.9	1,350.2	- 1.6
Total	9,435.1	8,926.5	- 5.4	11,026.5	+ 16.9

This table shows that as far as GCA+CW is concerned there was no great advance over the A'in. As far as the varying extents of increase in the different districts are concerned, these need not worry us greatly, because such changes are discernible even within the short spans in the modern period[1] The following table (Table -D) compares the GCA in 1873-75 and 1909.

1. Atkinson: Statistical, Descriptive and Historical Account of the N.W. Provinces of India, Vols. II, IV, VII, VIII.

TABLE -D

(Areas in sq. miles)

Districts	G.C.A. 1873-75	G.C.A. 1909-10	Present increase/ decrease
Agra	1,850.0	1,380.7	- 25.4
Aligarh	1,972.5	1,714.6	- 13.1
Etah	1,211.7	1,330.7	+ 9.8
Etawah	682.9	1,013.5	+ 48.4
Mainpuri	1,603.0	1,090.9	- 32.0
Farrukhabad	1,685.1	1,228.0	- 27.1
Mathura	1,452.7	1,168.1	- 19.6
Total	10,457.9	8,926.5	- 14.3

Going back to Table -C, we can see that in the seven Doab and trans-Yamuna districts the increase in GCA + CW between c. 1595 and 1909-10 was only about 17%. In case ratio between GCA and CW remained the same during the two periods, it may be supposed that the extension in cultivation was of the same order as well. It may be thought that this is a big 'if', indeed. But in favour of the CW not occupying a higher share in arazi than it had in GCA + CW in 1909-10 it may be urged that it was very unlikely that the Mughal administration measured areas of land that offered no

likelihood of yielding revenue, and it is therefore difficult to believe that large waste lands or pockets in ravines etc., that are included in modern statistics were covered by the Mughal surveyors. On the whole therefore, it seems unlikely that the gross cropped area in the seven Western U.P. districts underwent an increase of more than a fifth during the three centuries succeeding the A'in.

One weakness in our statistical comparison has been owing to the lack of information on the parganas composing the modern districts of Eastern Rajasthan, I have not been able to extend comparison to those districts. The weakness in our information about parganas can be overcome (some remain unidentified) if we take A'in statistics at sarkar-level only. In that case, however, one cannot fit those statistics into the limits of modern districts. The only way that I have thought of overcoming this difficulty is by attempting a comparison of the arazi of the sarkars with the actual area of the sarkars measured by planimeter from the map. This has been done from Maps 6A and 8A of Professor Irfan Habib's Atlas of the Mughal Empire (in the Press).

TABLE - E

Sarkars	Map Area (sq.miles)	Measured Area (sq. miles)	Measured : Map Area Area
A			
Agra	8,822.35	8,498.00	96.32
Kol	3,237.31	2,278.00	70.39
Kanauj	5,237.78	2,569.48	49.05
Kalpi	2,738.63	1,603.00	58.53
Sahar	965.66	706.58	73.17
B			
Alwar	2,703.87	1,508.90	55.80
Narnaul	4,183.27	1,926.24	46.05
Tijara	645.06	678.03	105.11
Total	23,533.93	19,768.23	69.29

Since the GCA counts double-cropped land twice over, it is only to be expected that the *arazi* of the *A'in* representing measured GCA + CW would be much higher than the actual area under cultivation at any one time, *plus* cultivable waste, and may well exceed the map-area. The high percentage for *arazi*: Map Area in the case of Agra and Tijara *sarkars* should occasion no surprise.

We see that in the 5 Doab and Trans-Yamuna *sarkars* (A), the *arazi* accounted for 77.5% the map-area, while in the

3 Rajasthan sarkars (B), its share came up to 53.3% only. Since the dam /bigha rates of these sarkars do not show any backwardness in measurement, one can only assume that the total GCA + CW as percentage of the map-area was substantially less in these sarkars than in the Doab and trans-Yamuna districts. But this is what is the case today as well, the areas concerned containing extensive dry and hilly tracts. It seems, therefore, unlikely that in this area any great change in cultivation occurred between 1595 and 1909-10.

Thus our general conclusion is that in the Agra suba (excluding its Central Indian portions, for which the statistics are not satisfactory), the extension in cultivation between 1595 and 1909-10 could not have exceeded 20% and might actually have been less.

Another kind of statistics to consider is that of jama' or standard revenue figures. When we compare the jama' figures of the Agra suba, for 1594 and 1709 we find that the jama'-dami more than doubled.[1] This may be due to three

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1. See the table in Irfan Habib, p. 402.

main reasons, singly or in combination: (a) The value of money had gone down; (b) the revenue-demand had increased exhorbitantly; and (c) substantial increase in the area of cultivation had taken place. On examining these factors we find that there was a great silver influx, during this period, due to European trade and commerce, which led to an increase in the circulation of money and reduction in its purchasing power, as production could not keep pace with such an increase. Prices of wheat and other agricultural produce increase about three fold in the Agra region.[1] This would mean that the increase in jama'-dami is due neither to an increase in the rate of demand nor an extension of cultivation, but merely to a rise in prices.[2]

On the whole, therefore, one would be disinclined to postulate a large increase in the extent of cultivation in the Agra suba. This conclusion from statistical evidence is supported by Pelsaert's remarks about the Agra region that here there was a great shortage of fire-wood and that trees were scarce.[3] General remarks by Steel and Crowther[4]

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1. Aziza Hasan, 'The Silver Currency Output of the Mughal Empire and Price-changes in India during 16th and 17th Centuries', Indian Economic & Social History Review, Vol. VI, No. 1, March 1969.

2. Ibid., p. 104.

3. Pelsaert, 48.

4. Steel and Crowther, Purchas His Pilgrimage, IV, p. 268: "All the Country betwixt Agra and Lahore, is exceeding well tilled ......".

and Tavernier[1] further attest to the land being extensively tilled.

Almost no information is available about the implements of cultivation in the Agra region. Presumably these were so familiar that they needed no comment by the Indian chroniclers; but presumably too they did not seem strange to European eyes. For this reason, if not for any other, it would not be correct to think that Indian agricultural implements were any more primitive than the European ones at that time. Indeed Steel and Crowther remark: "All the country betwixt Agra and Lahore is exceedingly well tilled and manured being the best of India, and plentiful of all things".[2]

With his meagre means peasant tried to get the maximum out of his holdings. He had by hard labour and experience, over a very long span of time, acquired the knowledge as to what particular and other climatic conditions suited which crop. They harvested two, and in certain cases

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1. Tavernier: I, p. 40: ".......all the territories of the Great Mogul are well cultivated .....".

2. Steel and Crowther, Purchas, IV, 268.

three, crops in the year.[1]

For irrigation peasants had to greatly depend on the monsoons. If in any season rainfall was below or above the normal requirements, they were put to great hardships. We have a large number of occasions recorded when due to below-normal rainfall indigo had become dear in Agra and its neighbourhood.[2]

Wells and tanks were the chief artificial means of irrigation. A great many references are at hand about brick-lined wells and tanks that existed and were used for irrigation purposes. But a close examination shows that these were found mainly on important trade routes, or places of residence of nobles,[3] who only could afford the high cost of construction. That these were private works for public utility can be surmised from the fact that these wells and tanks went into ruin for want of repairs after the death of the nobles or other charitable persons who had constructed them.[4] The peasants, who lived in the remote

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1. J. Xavier (Writing from Agra), p. 121: "The land is fertile; it yields two or three crops a year"; Pelsaert, p. 48.
2. Letters Received, IV, p. 230; Factories, 1642-45, p. 202; 1646-50, 276, 322; 1651-54, p. 86.
3. Finch: Early Travels, p. 155: "....a faire fountain (well), three stories and one hundred steps"; T. Roe, Purchas, IV, p. 384: "....many Fountains, Wells, Tanks...."; Mundy, II, p. 84.
4. Mundy, II, p. 84; "...but the founders being dead, if they goe to rayne, they(tanks, wells, sarai, etc.) are seldome repaired".

country-side, could not afford brick-lined wells; and as Pelsaert remarks,[1] every year large number of wells had to be newly dug to irrigate the rabi crop.

Tanks existed in almost every village but these cannot be said to have provided irrigation. The mud houses of the poor peasants needed repairs almost every year after the monsoons; and, as happens even today, the tank is created and re-excavated annually in this way; The mud taken from a tank is also better for use in the walls. With the passage of time the tank becomes larger and deeper. But these tanks can provide water only for cattle, washing, and sometimes even drinking water; but not water for irrigation.

The general means of lifting water from the wells was the leather bucket pulled by yoked oxen, popularly known as charas.[2] We have not come across any evidence which may suggest the use of 'Persian wheel' in our region for[3]

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1. Pelsaert, p. 48.

2. Babur-nama, p. 487: "In Agra, Chandwar, Biana ...... people water with a bucket; this is a laborious and filthy way. At the well edge they set up a fork of wood, having a roller adjusted between the forks, tie a rope to a large bucket, put the rope over the roller, and tie its other end to the bullocks. One person must drive the bullock, another empty the bucket".

3. Ibid., p. 486: "In Lahor, Dibalpur and those parts, people water by means of a wheel". Here Mrs. Beveridge has omitted, through an oversight, the words "and Sirhind" after Dibalpur.

purposes of irrigating the peasant's fields, as in the Punjab, though the device must have been used in imperial and aristocratic gardens. Nor is there any evidence for the existence of canals in our region, though West Yamuna and East Yamuna canals which irrigated adjoining regions, were both excavated or re-excavated in the Mughal period.

Since the monsoon was the main source of irrigation, agricultural production greatly depended on the pattern of soil and extent of rainfall. Broadly speaking, the crop pattern of 17th century continued into recent times, except for the supplanting of cotton by sugar-cane as the chief cash-crop in the Gangetic plains.[1] The A'in[2] gives an exhaustive list of crops harvested in the Agra suba. By indexing the crop-rates of some of the important crops and taking up the Agra rates as 100, we might hazard some inferences about the productivity, prices and distribution of crops at that time.

TABLE -F

Regions	Wheat	Barley	Sugar-Cane Common	Rice Common	Cotton	Indigo
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A TRANS-YAMUNA TRACT						
Agra	100	100	100	100	100	100
Bayana	100	90.813	100.731	96.356	95.683	101.327

1. Spate, 561.
2. A'in, II, 14-21.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
B						
UPPER AGRA DOAB						
Saket	90.697	85.888	93.929	81.510	107.706	103.472
Sikanderpur	89.982	81.788	100.087	81.510	107.706	102.757
Kol	89.982	81.788	90.894	81.510	102.752	103.420
Thanah Farida	86.702	77.236	90.894	77.534	107.155	104.008
Akbarabad	94.991	86.341	90.894	77.534	102.752	102.757
Marharah	89.982	81.788	86.341	81.510	107.155	102.757
C						
LOWER AGRA DOAB						
Etawah	89.982	81.788	90.894	74.022	102.752	102.042
Kanauj	90.995	81.300	89.374	77.799	107.706	104.186
Bhogaon	86.702	77.236	90.189	74.088	96.431	101.965
Phaphund	103.936	81.788	96.964	77.799	105.137	102.272
Kalpi	94.991	81.788	96.833	81.510	105.137	104.110
D						
CENTRAL INDIA						
Irachh	94.931	93.495	117.289	77.799	105.137	104.033
Gwalior	103.339	96.121	100.000	98.445	100.000	103.472
Kalpi	94.991	81.788	96.883	81.510	105.137	104.110

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
& **NORTH-EASTERN RAJASTHAN**						
Mandavar	100.000	90.813	90.894	105.566	95.688	102.757
Alvar	100.000	90.894	90.894	105.500	95.683	102.757
Bachherah	95.468	86.341	84.850	105.566	95.688	102.757
Mubarakpur	93.977	84.065	81.463	105.500	91.284	100.025
Tijara	96.660	86.341	125.501	105.566	102.568	102.757
Thana of Kahor	100.000	90.813	90.894	105.500	102.568	102.757
Besru	100.000	86.341	93.929	96.355	104.403	104.127
Sahar	96.660	86.341	93.929	96.355	108.964	104.033
Pahari	96.660	86.341	84.850	105.566	102.568	102.757
Nonhera	101.490	90.813	84.119	105.500	102.568	102.757
Narnol	93.931	84.105	90.894	105.367	102.568	105.693
Barodarana	94.991	84.065	86.341	105.566	102.568	99.565
Chal Kalanah	91.651	84.065	84.850	89.065	102.568	102.757

The picture which emerges from the above table may be summarized as follows:

(a) The rates of all the crops in the Trans-Yamuna Region and North-Eastern Rajasthan (A & B) approximate quite closely. It is therefore likely that this formed a more or less homogeneous agricultural block.

(b) Wheat and barley have two well-marked blocks: (i) A, D & E that is, the whole *suba* west and south of river Yamuna, and (ii) B & C, or the Doab, where these are rated less.

(c) The rate for sugar-cane, however, is lower in the Trans-Yamuna region and North-Eastern Rajasthan (A & E), averaging 82.046, as compared to Upper Agra-Doab, Lower Agra-Doab, and Central India (B, C & D), where it averages 93.107.

(d) Rice is definitely rated lower in the regions of Upper Agra-Doab, Lower Agra-Doab (B & C), and Erachh (of D), as compared to Trans-Yamuna, Central India, excluding Erachh, and North-Eastern Rajasthan (A, D &E).

(e) Cotton, on the other hand, is rated less in the Trans-Yamuna Tract and North-Eastern Rajasthan (A & E).

(f) No great difference is noticeable in the case of Indigo.

The rates for most of the important crops are lower in the Central Doab and territories to the immediate South of the Yamuna river. This may be due to lower prices arising out of availability of river transport. In the above table the 'Lower Agra-Doab' clearly emerges as a region where rice

MAP IV

BAYANA INDIGO TRACT

c.1626

Sonidhari
Sonkhar
Nadbai
Jhashotala
Pinghora
Ushan
Fatehpur
Jajauli
Pichuna
Dabhr
Bargi
Siras
Basawar
Birampur
Malakpur
Kurka
Khorasaa
Khanua
Barwar
Udi
Baretha
Nabara
Mahalpur
Rupbas
Sarsenda
Rudwal
Chikru
Suroth
Hindaun
Khera
Wazirpur
Saroli
Bayana

KM. 10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 KM.

Faiz Habib

was cheaper and therefore, presumably, cultivated on a larger scale.[1]

Indigo, cotton and sugar-cane represented the most important cash-crops. Indigo, which was used for dye-manufacture, was cultivated all over the suba. The produce of the Bayana tract was not only the best in the Agra suba, but in the whole of the Mughal Empire,[2] and as much quantity as could be procured was exported to Middle East and Europe.

Apart from Bayana, the other important centres of indigo production, under which came several villages and which produced slightly inferior quality, were: Khanua, Hindaun, Basawar and Tora.[3] These were situated within a radius of about 30-35 miles of Bayana. Still slightly inferior

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1. Mundy, II, 98, while enroute to Patna mentions that the territories lying between Shahjadpur and the Ganga all were sown with rice.

2. A'in, II, 84; Salbanke, Purchas, III, 84; Steel and Crowther, Purchas, III, 267; Finch, 151-52; Pelsaert, 13-14; Mundy, II, 234; Factories.

3. Pelsaert, 14, gives a long list of villages which came under these centres. Mundy, II, 222, also mentions these centres along with Panchoona, which according to Pelsaert came under Bayana. Finch, 151: Uchen is probably Otschien (Ujjain) of Pelsaert, p. 14, which came under Bayana. Finch also speaks of the good quality indigo of Khanua.

quality was produced at Kol,[1] Khurja[2] and Jellaly[3] (Jalali). Inferior quality indigo was produced in Mewat[4] and at Gwalior.[5] The *A'in* lists indigo under every *dastur*-circle;[6] therefore presumably it was widely cultivated in the *suba*. But since the names of all these localities are not found in the European records it seems that indigo of these places was of inferior quality not suited to the requirements of the export market. The reasons attributed for the superior quality of indigo produced in the Bayana tract are the denseness of the soil and the brackishness of the water in its wells.[7]

A few words about the cultivation and harvesting of indigo are necessary here since this crop has completely gone of out of cultivation. It was sown after the first few showers of monsoon.[8] The first crop was ready by the month of September,

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1. Pelsaert, 15; Finch, 179; *Factories* (1630-33), 325.
2. Pelsaert, 15; *Factories* (1630-33), 325.
3. *Factories* (1630-33), 325.
4. *Pelsaert*, 15.
5. *Factories* (1646-50), 122.
6. *A'in*, II, 14-21.
7. Finch, 151; Pelsaert, 13-14; Irfan Habib, 43n.
8. Finch, 152-53; Pelsaert, 48; *Letters Received &c.*, IV, 242; Mundy, II, 222.

when the first cutting was done. Indigo-dy manufactured from this crop was called *nauti*,[1] which was rather heavy and reddish,[2] and was not considered of the best quality.[3] Another crop out of the same plants became ready for cutting in August next year. Indigo manufactured from this crop was known as 'ziarie' or 'jerry'.[4] This was deemed best.[5] It was light and of a perfect violet colour.[6] Sometimes when the second crop was very luxurious, one more cutting was made in September[7] before the final and last cutting in October. The last, called 'katel',[8] was heavy and brackish and deemed worst of the three cuttings.[9]

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1. Pelsaert, 10; *Letters Received & c.*, IV, 241; G. Watt, *The Commercial Products of India*, 665.

2. Finch, 152-53.

3. *Ibid.*, 152-53; Pelsaert, 11; *Letters Received & c.*, IV, 241.

4. Finch, 152-53; Pelsaert, 11; *Letters Received & c.*, IV, 241.

5. Pelsaert, 11.

6. Finch, 152-53.

7. Only Pelsaert has mentioned the September cutting; he has not given any name for this crop.

8. Finch, 152-53; Pelsaert, 11; *Letters Received & c.*, IV, 241.

9. Pelsaert, 11; *Letters Received & c.*, IV, 241, say that all the three cuttings were made within two years; but Finch, 152-53 and Mundy, II, 223, put the third cutting in the third year. Keeping in view the quality obtained from the third cutting it would not have been profitable to engage the fields for one complete year for an unprofitable crop. Also, information coming through Pelsaert and the *Factories* is more authentic.

In the 17th century indigo cultivation seems to had been quite intensive. Pelsaert informs to that 14 or 15 lb. of seed were sown in a bigha,[1] that is about 37 to 40 lb. avdp. per acre. But in the late 19th century we find that only 16 lb. seed was sown per acre.[2] There is no suggestion in earlier authorities that the method of ploughing for indigo crop was in any way different from other crops. But towards the end of the 19th century, it was found that "In the Aligarh and the neighbouring districts it is however not the practice to plough the land. The seed is simply scattered over the irrigated area and the latter run over with a bush harrow made of Babul branches to cover the seed over with soil".[3]

This change may be due to the introduction of a low-yielding variety of indigo. Prain is cited by Watt[4] for the statement that about 1686, "there was cultivated in Malabar, a different plant (of indigo), Indigofera Sumatrana, which seems to have been introduced a little later (whether from Malabar or directly from the Malaya cannot be traced)

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1. Pelsaert, 10.
2. Hadi, 75.
3. Hadi, 75.
4. Watt, 662.

into Bengal, where prior to its introduction, indigo was not grown at all. This plant, which generally passes under the name of _I. tinctoria_, although it is not precisely the same as the true plant of that name, has now spread gradually westward and has driven out almost completely the cultivation of the Egyptian indigo". We know that the dye extracted per unit of land was much more in the 17th century, 16.596 to 27.66 lb. avdp. per _bigha_[1] or 41.5 to 69.2 lb. avdp. per acre, as compared to 21 lb. avdp.[2] in the last quarter of the 19th century. The only reason the new strain spread lay in the much easier cultivation it required. Its spread seems to be the main cause of the low yield of indigo dye per acre, ~~for~~ which will be discussed below.

It is noteworthy that indigo which constituted one of the most important items of export during the 17th century has been completely eliminated due to competition from a cheaply manufactured chemical dye in the late 19th century.

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1. Pelsaert, 11.

2. E.T. Atkinson, Vol. II, Part, I, 475, gives a yield of 10.586 lb. avdp. for Aligarh district which was manufactured through boiling method and was about half of that manufactured through natural evaporation. See also S. Muhammad Hadi, _A Monograph on Dyes and Dyeing in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh_, Allahabad, 18[illegible], p. 76. The Mughal period indigo was manufactured by natural evaporation method.

The indigo crop had great fertilising quality which enriched the soil for crops like wheat and cereals. Its elimination has adversely affected the fertility of the soil.[1]

Another crop which produced a dye of a different colour (red) was cultivated on a very limited scale, and its cultivation was confined to a particular region. It was known as al and cultivated in the dastur-circles Erachh, Bhaphund and Kalpi of our suba.[2] This crop has also been completely eliminated, like indigo, due to competition from the cheap chemical dye.

Other major cash-crops during our period were sugar-cane and cotton, whose cultivation was quite widespread. But as compared to indigo, information about these crops is very scanty.[3] Moreland is of the opinion that extensive cultivation of sugar-cane was not possible due to lack of irrigation facilities. But we find in the A'in[4] that this

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1. Irfan Habib, 44.

2. A'in, II, 16, 20: Only in two other dastur-circles-Kutya and Kalinjar of Ilahabad suba - was al cultivated. Blockmann's ed. and Jarrett's translation has wrongly mentioned this crop in Karrah and Jajmau dastur-circles (A'in, tr. II, 99); Irfan Habib, 44n.

3. Moreland, India at the Death of Akbar, 1920, 25.

4. A'in, II, 14-21.

crop has been listed in all the dastur-circles; our table (pp. 135-37) shows that its rates were lower in the Trans-Yamuna Tract and North-Eastern Rajasthan, though we have not been able to establish yet why the rates were lower in comparatively drier regions. The remarks of European travellers, taken up together, suggest that its cultivation was widespread and some quantity of good sugar was also available for export.[1] Bayana and Kalpi were especially noted for the sugar produced there.[2]

Cotton cultivation was also quite widespread in the Agra suba. In this case also we find that the A'in[3] lists rates for cotton under every dastur-circle. A study of Table-F (pp. 135-77) shows that revenue rates on cotton were lower in the 'Trans-Yamuna' region and 'North-Eastern Rajasthan', compared with Central Doab and Central India. We may surmise that cotton crop was more widespread in the former regions than the Central Doab and Central India. The advent

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1. Steel and Crowther, 268: "All the country betwixt Agra and Lahore .....yeelds great store of poudered Sugar". Factories (1646-50), 300, says that sugar was expected to be plentiful; Factories (1651-54), 52, speaks about the prospects of good sugar crop.

2. A'in, II, 84-85.

3. Ibid., II, 14-21; Factories (1655-60), 118, show that it was an important crop in the Agra region; Salbanke, 84, speaks of "store of cotton-wools" in the villages on the Banaya Merta route.

of railways in the last century and improvement in the irrigation facilities have helped to replace the cotton crop by wheat and sugar-cane in the Central Doab region, while in other regions it still enjoys a prominent position.[1]

Though our information is very scanty, we can perhaps say on the basis of available references that betel-leaf (pan) was cultivated in various localities of the suba.[2] The revenue-rates for the dastur-circles in the A'in[3] show that betel-leaf was the most highly assessed item, only next to paundah sugar-cane. Antri[4] and Agra[5] seems to have produced very good quality betel-leaf.

The cultivation of kabul-gram (Cabul-Vetches) was confined to a few dastur-circles, namely, Agra, Irachh, Phaphund and Kalpi.[6] It is significant that in case of other

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1. Spate, 555, 620, 623.
2. A'in, II, 14-21.
3. Ibid., II, 14-21. It also emerges from the list that revenue rates for the 'Lower Agra-Doab' region, excluding Etawah, were higher by about 17% over other dastur-circles. I have not been able to assign any reason for it.
4. Ibid., II, 90;
5. Sujan Rai Bhandari, Khulasat-ut Tawarikh, ed. Zafar Hasan, Delhi, 1918, p. 39.
6. A'in, II, 14-21.

subas too either this crop is absent, or is confined to a very few *dastur*-circles.

The cultivation of vegetables was mainly confined to the places in the vicinity of urban centres. Turnips, various beans, beet-roots, salads, potherbs, etc., were mainly raised.[1] Potato — sweet and ordinary — was produced at a later period.[2]

Fruits grew on trees scattered over the land, as well as in well-maintained groves.[3] Mango, tamarines, orange, apple, pine-apple, melons, musk-melons, etc., were grown.[4] We have no definite information if groves were rented out to the peasants or professional fruit-sellers.[5] The *A'in* makes a special reference to the mangoes of Bayana, stating

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1. Pelsaert, 48.
2. Irfan Habib, 48.
3. T. Roe, *Purchas*, IV, 384: "By it (near Godah) stood a delicate Groove of two mile large, a quarter broad, planted by industry, with Manges, Tamerines, and other fruits".
4. *Ibid.*, 384; Finch, 143-44; Mundy, II, 309; Pelsaert, 48-49; *A'in*, II, 84; Irfan Habib, 50.
5. According to Finch, 158, the imperial garden at Sirhind was rented out each year. But no such definite information is available about the orchards in our *suba*.

that some of the mangoes weighed more than two lb.[1] The *A'in* also mentions extension in cultivation of grapes and melons, Jahangir describes the large crop of pine-apples in the imperial orchards at Agra.[2] This is an interesting statement since the pine-apple was a new introduction from the New World received through the Portuguese.[3]

The cattle population per-capita may well have been much larger during the 17th century than it is to today. We know that the *banjaras* maintained large herds of cattle, and some *tandas* contained as large as 12,000, or 15,000, or even 20,000 bullocks each.[4] These days when *ghee* has become a luxury for, at least, the lower middle classes, we are told that *ghee* and rice was "the food of the common people".[5] Also, since slaughtering of cows was banned during a large part of the Mughal period,[6] this may have added to the number of cattle.[7] Abul Fazl informs us that four bullocks, two cows and one buffalo were exempted from tax per plough. If the exempted number represented the number ordinarily kept by the ordinary peasant, the cattle population must have been very considerable.

1. *A'in*, II, 84.
2. *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, ed. Sir Saiyid Ahmad, Aligarh, 1863-64, 3.
3. Irfan Habib, 50.
4. Mundy, II, 95-96; T. Roe, 67; Tavernier, I, 32-33.
5. J. Xavier, 121.
6. Pelsaert, 49.
7. *A'in*, I, Ed. Blochmann, 287.

Agricultural Manufactures:

In the case of the cash crops, particularly indigo, we have detailed information[1] about the manufacturing processes which were employed. Every manufacturing unit in indigo consisted of two well-plastered large cisterns,[2] one at a lower level, and connected with the other by a small, narrow tunnel. The higher cistern had a perimeter of usually 15 to 20 feet and was about 5 to 6 feet deep.[3] The whole normal crop of one bigha or so was removed to the higher cistern and was kept pressed for, normally, 24 to 30 hours well under water. This was done so that the leaves and the stalk should become soft. Then the pressing load was removed. Three or more people now entered the higher cistern and worked on the softened plants for several hours till the material was reduced to paste. Water was then moved to the lower cistern. Some time was then allowed for the indigo grains to settle. Then the indigo was scooped up from the bottom and put on cotton cloth so that it might lose its moisture. Small balls were made of this slightly hardened paste, which were then laid on the sand for

1. Pelsaert, 10-11; Finch, 153; Tavernier, II, 9-12; Letters Received & c., IV, 241; Mundy, II, 222-23.

2. Mundy, II, 222-23.

3. Pelsaert, 10; Tavernier, II, 9-12.

some time to dry, because any other method of drying would have soaked up its colour.[1] These balls were then put in earthen vessels, closed tightly to safeguard against exposure from light and air so as to prevent the indigo from becoming too dry.[2]

A slightly different method was adopted in the Mewat region, which was similar to the prevelent in the Sarkhej region. In Mewat only one cistern was used for the whole process of extraction of the dye from the leaves and stalks.[3]

We are told that the indigo manufactured in the Gwalior region became dry and hard very fast and that balls made of it could not hold together for long, but would go to pieces on the slightest disturbance. To keep them intact, manufacturers used rice-water, but it made them hard and flinty.[4]

We have already seen that three cuttings were made before the fields were resown with indigo or any other crop. As the first, second and third cuttings were called nauti,

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1. Finch, 153.

2. Pelsaert, 11.

3. Ibid., 15.

4. Factories (1646-50), 122.

ziaria and *katal* respectively, the indigo dyes from the same crops given the same names. The *nauti* indigo was coarse and of very fast colour and was, therefore, useful for dying woollens and heavy goods.[1] *Ziaria* was considered best, of brilliant violet colour, lighter than *nauti* in weight. And the last, *katal*, was hard without any gloss, and deemed to be of an inferior quality. Pelsaert informs us that the *katal* was sold at about half the rate of the *nauti*.[2] And since the cost of manufacture was about the same for all the three, while the yield of *katal* was barely half that of *ziaria*, sometimes peasants used the *katal* crop as fodder and fertiliser and did not put it through the manufacturing process.[3]

Pelsaert is the sole authority for about the approximate yield of the indigo crop in the Agra region. He says that usually the crop of one *bigha* was put at a time in the cistern and when dye was made up in the shape of balls,[4] each cistern yielded about 16.596 to 27.66 lb. avdp. of dye. In

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1. Finch, Early Travels, 152-53; *Letters*, IV, 240-41.

2. Pelsaert, 12-13.

3. *Ibid.*, 12.

4. *Seers* have been converted here into lb. avdp. according to the calculations of Irfan Habib, 367-68.

the course of time till it was sold and packed for transportation it lost about 6.193 lb. avdp. per 55.32 lb. avdp. from evoporation. In the light of the fact that no other approximation is available for our period, and that Pelsaert gives this information after detailed investigation, we may say that the average yield per bigha of indigo was approximately 20 lb. avdp. from the nauti crop. This means an yield of 41.5 to 69.2 lb. for the best indigo crop.

This is high yield, indeed, when we consider the per-acre yield of the dye during the last quarter of the 19th century. In the Aligarh district the manufactured dye derived from an acre amounted to no more than 10.586 lb. avdp.[1] Watt gives an estimate of the output of indigo and the area under the crop in the United Provinces, which indicates even a lower yield, 8.33 lb. avdp.[2] Elsewhere, writing of Bihar, Watt puts the indigo yield per acre at between 7½ and 25 lb.[3]

As we have seen the manufacturing process of indigo dye required great labour and brick-lined cisterns, which would

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1. E.T. Atkinson, Satistical, Descriptive and Historical Account of the North-Western Provinces of India, Vol. II, Part I, p. 475.

2. Watt, The Commercial Products of India, New Delhi, 1966, p. 675.

3. Ibid., p. 680.

not have been within the easy reach of an ordinary peasant. Presumably some kind of cooperative system was prevelent[1] among the cultivators. It is also likely that small cultivators sold their produce to big farmers who might have owned the cisterns and who could afford hired-labour. A definite stage of commercialization of indigo cultivation had reached in Bayana where "some rich and substantial merchants..........sow most of the indigo".[2] And it was only when the prices had been fixed at the house of one of these big merchants that buying and selling of indigo could begin.[3]

Pelsaert furnishes interesting information about the amount of indigo manufactured in the suba of Agra. He gives the estimates of annual yield of the dye for the three major indigo tracts as follows:[4]

A. Bayana Tract	:	
Favourable years	:	4,000 bales
Unfavourable years	:	2,000 bales
B. Kol-Khurja, average year	:	1,000 bales
C. Mewat	:	1,000 bales or more

1. Irfan Habib, 59.

2. Pelsaert, 17.

3. Ibid., 17.

4. Ibid., 13-15.

Taking the average of Bayana tract to be 3,000 bales, one may say that Pelsaert estimated the total yield in the three major indigo tracts at 5,000 bales. Pelsaert puts the weight of a bale of indigo at 4 maunds (man-i Akbari), when fresh, and 3½ when completely dry. Since the man-i Akbari was equal to 55.32 lb. avdp.; we may take 5,000 bales to have contained indigo weighing from 9,68,100 to 11,06,400 lb. avdp. or from 8,644 to 9,879 cwt. Modern figures for the same region, before the great decline in indigo began, are not available. In 1904-05,[1] the total out-turn for the U.P. was estimated at 8,000 cwt. Since of the 107,516 acres sown to indigo only 8,821 acres were sawn in Oudh, one can take the figure of 8,000 cwt. (896,000 lbs.) to stand for the British province of Agra, which on the one hand included large areas not covered in Pelsaert's three tracts and on the other practically excluded most of the Bayana and the entire Mewat tract. One can only guess that the indigo production in Mughal times in the Agra suba was on a scale by no means inferior to that at the beginning of the present century.

We have not come across any evidence about the manufacturing of sugar. From the widespread cultivation of sugarcane in the suba we can surmise that sugar and gur was

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1. Watt, Commercial Products of India, 678.

manufactured on a large scale. It seems that good quality sugar was available as we find references to its export by the Europeans for some time from Agra.[1] Sugar produced at Agra,[2] Bayana and Kalpi[3] was well known for its excellent quality.

I have not been able to find satisfactory evidence about the organisation of agriculture. It is quite obvious that peasant-farming was the prevelent form. But an early 19th century Persian source also speaks of headmen "who organise <u>khud-kasht</u> employ labourers as their servants and put them to the tasks of agriculture; and making them plough, sow and reap and draw water out of the well, they pay them their fixed wages, whether in cash or grain, while appropriating to themselves the gross produce of cultivation".[4] Pelsaert also noticed a case of superior cultivation i.e. agricultural production organised by non-peasants, since, as we have seen, he says that, in Bayana, "some rich and substantial merchants live in the town ....who sow most of the indigo".[5]

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1. <u>Factories</u> (1618-21), 141-42; (1637-41), 192; (1646-50), 56, & c.
2. <u>A'in</u>, II, 84.
3. <u>Ibid</u>.,II, 192.
4. <u>Diwan Pasand</u>, Ms. Br. Mus. Or. 2011, f. 8a. It describes the agricultural condition and revenue practices in the Doab, c. 1810.
5. Pelsaert, 17.

Non-agricultural Production:

The information at our disposal regarding the non-agricultural production, is in the quantitative aspect so limited that we are unable to enter into any detailed discussion about the volume of production or number of workers employed, in any craft or industry. The best course has seemed to be to present such information as can be gathered in the form of a general survey. We begin with the minerals.

According to Abul Fazl an abandoned silver mine existed at Bairat.[1] Since silver is found in small quantities in the Aravallis, e.g. at the Zawar mines, this information may be readily believed. But it is obvious that its extraction was no longer profitable at Bairat in the 16th century. There being no other known source of silver in the *suba*, we may say that whatever quantity of silver metal was required in the *suba* Agra, whether for the mintage of coins or for the purpose of making jewellery, was imported.

The major mineral product of the *suba* was undoubtedly copper. The copper mines were located at Bairat, Toda Bhim, Singhana, Udaipur and Kotputli.[2] But the Toda Bhim mine was

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1. *A'in*, II, Nawal Kishore ed., p. 85.
2. *Ibid.*, II, 85; Xavier, 121-22. *A'in* says that Bairat mine was very rich. But that it produced 35 *seers* of

(foot-note continue on next page)

unprofitable.[1] The other places are located in the vicinity of Khetri copper field, in Rajasthan, which is said to contain large quantities of very rich copper, and where extraction is now in progress. We have no evidence to suggest that there was any decline in the production of copper, though we find that the silver value of copper coins went up in the 17th century.[2] It may be because of two reasons, firstly, substantially high cost of production, and secondly, increase in the demand of copper for the manufacture of guns etc.

Iron mines were situated at Gwalior[3] and Narwar.[4] We have not come across any evidence regarding the smelting process. Cunningham, who speaks of a much later period, informs us that iron was smelted in all the neighbouring villages of Narwar; and even from Gwalior, ore was carried to Karabi and Magraoin, near Narwar, where charcoal was cheap.

....foot-note no.2 continued from previous page ...
copper out of a man of Ore is highly exaggerated, and probably Xavier means this place when he says: "That there are some copper mines near this city (Agra), where it is said that they get thirty or forty pounds of copper out of forty pounds of earth dug-up".

1. A'in, II, 85; Khulasat-ut Tawarikh, 40.
2. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System......, 389-94.
3. A'in, II, 85; Xavier, 121-22; Manucci, I, 70; Cunningham, Archaeological Survey of India Report, II, Calcutta, p.325.
4. Thevenot, 54; Cunningham, II, 325.

He further says that the iron of these two places could compete successfully with English iron in Central Indian and Central Doab markets as late as 1862-65, when he was reporting.

Salbancke[1] and Fitch[2] say that diamond was found in Agra. They had probably in mind the Kalinjar diamond fields, not far from the borders of suba Agra, but actually inside suba Allahabad. The A'in tells us that turquoise was found in Toda Bhim, but the cost of production made its extraction uneconomical. Similarly a report in the European sources[4] that a quick-silver mine had been discovered near Agra appears to had been unfounded.

The red sandstone quarries of Fatehpur Sikri[5] and Rupbas[6] were famous and the stones quarried there were extensively used for the building of forts, houses, tombs etc. in the suba.

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1. Salbancke, Purchas, III, 83-84.
2. Fitch, Early Travels, 47.
3. A'in, II, 85; also see Khulasat-ut Tawarikh, 40.
4. Xavier, 121-22; Letters Received......, III, 66; IV, 296.
5. A'in, II, 84; Khulasat-ut Tawarikh, 40.
6. Mundy, II, 231.

Alwar[1] produced glass which was coloured. For transparent glass people had to depend on European imports.

Saltpetre was another mineral whose manufacture process was widely known. It was used in the making of gunpowder. Because of its great importance as a war material its sale was sometimes prohibited through an imperial decree.[2] It was manufactured from three kinds of earth-black, yellow and white, the black being the best. The manufacturing process required two big reservoirs and a big boiling-pan. The earth was filled in the bigger reservoir and flooded with water, then it was thoroughly trodden upon till it was reduced to paste. It was then left for about two days so that the water might absorb all the substance. Water was then removed to the second reservoir and the deposit allowed to settle. Next, this deposit was boiled in the pan once or twice and saltpetre was thus obtained.[3]

Saltpetre manufactured near Agra was considered better than that of Ahmadabad.[4] The places where it was produced

1. A'in, II, 85.
2. English Factories, (1624-29), 335.
3. Pelsaert, 46; English Factories
4. English Factories (1651-54), 197.

included Shergarh,[1] Kagarol,[2] Sadabad.[3] But saltpetre from Agra did not become an item of export to Europe partly perhaps because of the heavy demand of the Mughal empire itself, and partly due to Bihar offering itself as a rich source of saltpetre to the Dutch and the English.

A variety of cotton cloth was made in the *suba*. The most sought after were the printed cloth or chintz,[4] the ordinary calico or *guzzees*[5] and the finer calicoes, the mercoles[6] and *sammas*.[7] Only in the case of *guzzees* are we told that these were woven in Agra, Gokul (District Mathura),

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1. About 12 miles from Kol (Aligarh).
2. 15 miles S.W. of Agra .
3. 17 miles north of Agra; presently a *tahsil* headquarters in district Mathura.
4. *Chintz*: Calicoes whose colours were very bright and durable.
5. *Guzzees*: *English Factories* (1642-45), 6-7, 137: "A kind of calico, manufactured near Agra.... similar to narrow *baftas*, was 'very narrow and substantially' made, was available in 80,70, some more some less – most above 40 corvds". Istilahat-i Peshwaran, II, 84:

   گزی [گزیرا - گزینا] گھٹیا قسم کا پتلا اور جھرجھرا ز بہر پتے کا گاڑھا

   Gazi is presumably the *zazina* of the *A'in*, I, 72. It is among the cheapest cotton textile rated here.
6. *Mercoles*: is the *mihrkul* of the *A'in*, I, 71, rated at 3 rupees to 2 *muhrs* and thus among the finer varieties of cotton cloth.
7. *Sammas*, presumably the calico from Samana. But this is by no means certain.

and Hindaun.[1] We are also told that at Shahzadpur[2] 'pintadoes' and 'chintz' were made. The weaving centres where the other varieties were woven have not been mentioned. Other important varieties in great demand and available at the Agra market were, generally, known from their place names, like 'Dereabads' or 'Khairabads' (from Daryabad and Khairabad in Awadh).

Generally for bleaching much of the cotton purchased by the English was sent to Broach in Gujarat,[3] but Agra city[4] was an important centre of dyeing, because of its proximity to the best indigo producing centres.

Thevenot,[5] who was greatly impressed with the artistic skill of the Agra artisans, especially those working with and on gold, discusses in some detail the working of gold upon agate and crystals etc., "When the Indians would beautifie Vessels, Cups, or, Coffers; besides the circles of Gold they put about them, they engrave flowers and other figures, and

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1. English Factories (1642-45), 300; (1646-50), 188-89.
2. Mundy, II, 98.
3. Tavernier, II, 6-7.
4. Ibid., 5; English Factories (1618-21), 162; (1646-50), 277.
5. Thevenot, 55.

also enchase Stone upon them. They cut leaves of gold to fill the void spaces of the Figures, lay several pieces one upon another, and enchase them so artificially in the hallow that when the void spaces are filled up, it looks like Massie Gold (solid). They do the same with Stones, they encompass them also with such pieces of Leaf-Gold and press them in so close that the Stones hold very well".

Thevenot also gives interesting facts about souldering methods. The skin of the fruit of convolvulous, or gomtchi was peeled off and yellowish bean was ground with water on an iron plate till it was dissolved. In it was mixed a little borax. It was put on the ends meant for joining and then heated. He says that: "the two sides close fast and hold extra-ordinary well".[1] Agra was also very famous for its artistic and skilful gold and silver embroidery work on turbans and other kinds of cloth.[2]

Agra, Fatehpur Sikri and Alwar were important weaving centres for ordinary and wollen carpets. These were made in standard sizes. Any demand for anything outside the standard

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1. Thevenot, 55.
2. A'in, II, 84; English Factories (1618-21), 161; Tavernier, II, 3.

size was not ordinarily met and the price demanded for such sizes was substantially higher.[1]

The *A'in-i Akbari* says that silver was coined, among other places, at Agra; among the copper mints of the Empire Kalpi, Gwalior and Kanauj were located in the *suba* Agra.[2] In the first half of the 17th century only Agra, Akbarabad and Fatehpur Sikri issued silver coins.[3] But in the last quarter of the century a number of new silver mints were established within the *suba*, namely, Islamabad (Mathura), Etawah, Narnol, Sikandarah and Gwalior.[4] It is significant that among the inland mints of the Empire coins struck at Etawah mint formed the highest percentage. Though, generally speaking, old silver coins were recast in the mints of inland region, it is difficult to understand why Etawah mint struck

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1. *English Factories* (1618-21), 161: "Carpetts of such length and breadth as your Worships desire them we shall hardly ever be able to procure; for such sizes we find very few ready made......(if asked for any other size then these) cost dearer then others ready made".
2. *A'in*, I, Nawal Kishore ed., p. 18.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 333, 335, 340-41.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 331, 333; at Etawah during 1685-94 and 1695-1703 10.196 and 15.582% respectively of the total coins were struck, closely followed by Delhi with 9.804 and 9.073% respectively.

the highest percentage, when it was neither the capital nor, comparatively speaking, a great commercial centre.[1]

Information about the karkhanas or workshops is not available, except those of the imperial house hold. The A'in[2] says that at Agra and Fatehpur Sikri under his Majesty's patronage carpets and fine stuffs were woven and numerous handicraftsmen had full occupation.

It would appear that outside the karkhanas, production was carried on largely within the artisan's own hut, and that the artisans often received part-payment in advance. It seems that the putting-out system was common for quite some-time before the European merchants began to show interest in Indian manufactures. This system was in common practice in indigo manufacture,[3] and textiles, and also sugar and saltpetre. We hear of advances of money made to the cultivators and manufacturers[4] so that a claim might be established on the

1. A'in, I, 329, suggests that "the number of coins turned out of a mint was determined much more by the amount of silver supply and to a smaller extent by the city's position in the commercial worlds or its administrative importance". But this is not true in the case of Etawah.

2. A'in, II, 34.

3. English Factories (1624-29), 208, 246; (1634-36), 243.

4. Ibid. (1618-21), 47-48, 121; (1624-29), 149; (1646-50), 159.

product, or product obtained according to specifications.[1] But we have not come across any evidence to suggest that apart from money, raw material was also supplied to the artisans or manufacturers.[2]

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1. Tavernier, I, 56, though he speaks about Sironj, but it might also have been true in case of *suba* Agra.

2. The English attempt at Ahmadabad, well outside our *suba*, of manufacturing indigo from the leaf, with the help of wage-labourers proved uneconomical; see *English Factories* (1634-36), 292; (1646-50), 77-78, 139, 202, 203.

APPENDIX

Arazi and Revenue Statistics

Parganas	Measured area (bighas) 000, omitted	Revenue (dams) 000, omitted	Revenue Rates (dams /bigha)
1	2	3	4
SARKAR AGRA			
1. Agra	892	44,956	50.40
2. Etawah	1,084	10,739	9.91
3. O'l	153	5,509	36.00
4. Oudehi	274	2,884	10.53
5. Ud	204	1,031	5.05
6. Bijwarah	665	10,967	16.54
7. Bayana	235	7,110	30.25
8. Bari	277	5,866	21.18
9. Bhasawar	304	5,505	18.11
10. Banawar	13	151	11.62
11. Todah Bhim	264	3,733	14.14
12. Bhaskar	46	1,082	23.52
13. Jalesar	965	6,836	7.08
14. Chandawar	408	11,442	28.04
15. Chausath	97	4,182	43.11
16. Khanwah	105	2,912	27.73
17. Dholpur	284	9,789	34.28
18. Rapri	477	10,538	22.0[illegible]
19. Rajhohar	301	1,694	5.63
20. Sengar Sengri	100	986	40.26
21. Fatehpur	210	8,494	9.86
22. Kotumhar	97	746	7.69
23. Mahawan	291	6,785	23.32

1	2	3	4
24. Mathura	37	1,156	31.24
25. Moholi	66	1,501	22.40
26. Mangotalah	75	1,145	15.27
27. Mandawar	10	133	13.30
28. Wazirpur	71	2,009	28.30
29. Hindaun	433	9,250	21.36
30. Hatkant	607	5,694	9.38
31. Hilak	137	2,789	20.36
Actual total of above	9,180	1,87,553	20.23
Total stated in the _A'in_	9,107	1,91,719	21.08
SARKAR KALPI			
1. U'lai	96	1,297	13.51
2. Bilaspur	127	3,715	29.29
3. Bhudekh	73	1,260	17.26
4. Derapur	104	1,770	16.83
5. Deokali	104	1,467	14.11
6. Rath	511	9,271	18.14
7. Raepur	43	1,200	27.91
8. Suganpur	-	1,808	-
9. Shahpur	-	8,843	-
10. Kalpi	-	4,871	-
11. Kanar	-	4,943	-
12. Khandaut	-	3,028	-
13. Khandelah	86	872	10.14
14. Mohammadabad	184	1,617	8.79
15. Hamirpur	405	804	11.86
Actual total of Above	1,733	50,466	29.12
Total stated in the _A'in_	300	49,487	164.96

1	2	3	4
SARKAR KANAUJ			
1. Bhogaon	337	4,577	13.58
2. Bhojpur	151	3,447	23.03
3. Talgram	74	3,387	45.77
4. Bithur	175	2,921	16.91
5. Bilhaur	64	2,829	44.13
6. Patiali	159	1,878	11.81
7. Pati Alipur	38	1,154	30.37
8. Pati Nakhat	49	567	11.57
9. Barnah	35	450	12.86
10. Bara	9	400	44.44
11. Phaphund	112	5,432	48.50
12. Chhabramau	76	1,522	20.27
13. Deoha	12	483	40.25
14. Saket	133	3,231	24.29
15. Sonj	65	1,200	18.75
16. Sahawar	79	252	3.19
17. Seoli	13	623	47.92
18. Sakatpur	23	623	27.09
19. Sakraon	20	549	27.45
20. Sahar	25	487	19.48
21. Saurikh	10	465	46.50
22. Sikandarpur Udhu	5	277	55.40
23. Barwar(Sarwar)	20	448	22.40
24. Sikanderpur Atraji	36	270	7.50
25. Shamsabad	719	7,138	9.23
26. Kanauj	126	2,476	19.65
27. Kampil	139	1,652	11.70
28. Karaoli	40	1,410	35.24
29. Malkusah	30	1,500	50.00
30. Nanamau	3	137	45.67
Actual total of above	2,777	51,785	18.66
Total stated in the *A'in*	2,777	52,585	18.97

1	2	3	4
SARKAR KOL			
1. Atrauli	321	5,464	17.04
2. Akrabad	118	3,003	25.45
3. Ahar	46	2,107	45.80
4. Pahasu	55	2,503	45.51
5. Balram	112	2,132	19.04
6. Pachlana	39	625	16.03
7. Tappal	163	1,803	11.06
8. Thana Farida	64	213	3.33
9. Jalali	146	2,958	20.26
10. Chandaus	42	1,749	41.64
11. Khurja	90	3,703	75.57
12. Dibai	49	2,170	44.29
13. Sikandra Rao	83	4,412	53.16
14. Soron	41	875	21.34
15. Sidhpur	71	989	13.93
16. Kol	549	10,412	18.97
17. Gangeri	54	372	6.89
18. Narharan	206	3,680	17.86
19. Malakpur	31	1,446	46.65
20. Nuh	139	1,312	9.44
21. Shikarpur	45	1,975	43.89
Actual total of above	2,464	53,893	21.87
Total stated in the *A'in*	2,462	54,093	21.97

1	2	3	4
SARKAR GWALIOR			
1. Anhon	107	2,278	21.29
2. Badarhattah	64	697	10.89
3. Jitawar	140	1,051	7.51
4. Jhaloda	33	219	6.64
5. Dandroli	197	1,807	9.17
6. Raipur	88	1,018	11.57
7. Sirseni	94	832	8.85
8. Samauli	46	2,001	43.50
9. Sarbandah	22	267	12.14
10. Alapur	211	5,124	24.28
11. Gwalior	346	12,483	36.08
12. Khatoli	198	3,105	5.68
Actual total of above	1,546	30,882	19.98
Total stated in the *A'in*	1,146	29,684	25.90
SARKAR ERACHH			
1. Erachh	626	2,922	4.67
2. Parhar	753	5,237	3.05
3. Bhander	257	2,533	9.86
4. Bijpur	31	1,241	40.03
5. Pandor	9	464	51.56
6. Jhatra	-	11,788	-
7. Riabanah	12	500	41.67
8. Shahzadpur	21	451	21.77
9. Khatolah etc.	-	3,000	-
10. Kaihadah	-	785	-
11. Kidar	-	120	-
12. Kunch	155	1,852	11.49

1	2	3	4
13. Khakes	89	1,345	15.09
14. Kanti	-	240	-
15. Khaerah	223	4,776	21.42
16. Maholi	27	502	18.59
Actual total of above	2,203	37,724	17.12
Total stated in the *A'in*	2,202	37,785	17.16

SARKAR PAYANWAN

1. Antri	906	-	-
2. Amwari	-	223	-
3. Atiwan	36	165	4.58
4. Antelah	29	32	1.10
5. Payanwan	86	801	9.31
6. Banwar	17	417	24.53
7. Paranchah	60	396	9.77
8. Badnun	-	275	-
9. Bhasanda	-	169	-
10. Janaur	51	549	10.76
11. Jarhali	20	144	7.20
12. Jagtan	-	124	-
13. Dhamlah	13	17	1.31
14. Rushadah	94	473	5.03
15. Ratangarh	71	356	5.01
16. Roherah	23	1,018	44.26
17. Sohandi	82	897	10.94
18. Kanaulah	12	365	30.42
19. Karharah	-	277	-
20. Kaheod	27	196	7.26

1	2	3	4
21. Khandha	17	163	9.59
22. Khand Bajrah, the greater	34	139	4.09
23. Khand Bajrah, the lesser	2	68	34.00
24. Kherihat	24	112	4.67
25. Kajharah	17	82	4.82
26. Kadwahah	7	43	6.14
27. Mau	59	850	14.41
Actual total of above	1,667	8,351	5.01
Total stated in the *A'in*	762	8,459	11.10
SARKAR NARWAR			
1. Baroi	88	639	7.26
2. Bauli	242	142	0.59
3. Sheopuri	25	1,250	50.00
4. Kalaras	13	764	59.00
5. Narwar	25	1,438	16.85
Actual total of above	394	4,233	10.74
Total stated in the *A'in*	394	4,233	10.74
SARKAR MANDRAEL			
1. Untgarh	8	494	61.75
2. Bijaipur	6	360	60.00
3. Balaoli	6	324	4.00
4. Bakhar	4	262	65.50
5. Bagrond	-	-	-

1	2	3	4
6. Jhakwar	1	38	38.00
7. Dang Makhori	8	494	61.75
8. Dongri	1	54	54.00
9. Ratanbalahar	1	82	82.00
10. Samarthalah	9	526	58.44
11. Kamukherah	2	116	58.00
12. Kharaun	1	54	54.00
13. Kahtoni	2	52	26.00
14. Mandrael	16	698	43.63
Actual total of above	65	3,554	54.70
Total stated in the *A'in*	66	3,738	56.64

SARKAR ALWAR

1. Alwar	85	2,680	31.53
2. Anthlah Bhabru	25	851	34.04
3. Umran	40	642	16.05
4. Ismailpur	24	504	21.00
5. Bairat	24	7,202	30.01
6. Bihrozpur	119	2,622	22.03
7. Bahadurpur	60	1,950	52.50
8. Bharkol	74	679	9.18
9. Balhar	60	444	7.53
10. Barodah Fateh Khan	16	201	12.56
11. Panain	29	196	6.76
12. Baroda Meo	13	153	11.77
13. Bhudah Thal	31	146	4.71
14. Bhiwai	15	122	8.13
15. Basanah	9	100	11.11

1	2	3	4
16. Bajherah	3	104	35.00
17. Balhattah	7	134	19.14
18. Jalalpur	46	394	8.57
19. Hasanpur Badohar	60	948	15.80
20. Hasanpur Kori	48	1,260	26.25
21. Hajipur	26	457	17.58
22. Deoli Sajari	83	600	19.23
23. Dadekar	27	695	23.74
24. Dhara	12	513	42.75
25. Rath	6	230	38.33
26. Sakhan	19	804	42.32
27. Khohari Rana	221	4,359	19.71
28. Khelohar	58	1,459	25.16
29. Kol Dhoar	34	627	18.44
30. Kiyarah	0.5	600	1,200.00
31. Khirathali	27	466	17.26
32. Ghat Suwan	16	357	22.31
33. Kohrana	4	167	41.75
34. Mandawar	100	1,889	18.89
35. Maujpur	44	640	14.55
36. Mubarakpur	19	414	27.05
37. Mongona	38	475	12.50
38. Manduvar	18	27	1.50
39. Naugaon	24	857	35.71
40. Nahargarh	35	604	17.26
41. Harsoli	12	227	18.93
42. Harpur	17	677	39.82
43. Harsana	4	208	52.00
Actual total of above	1,632	39,784	23.15
Total stated in the *A'in*	1,662	39,832	23.97

1	2	3	4
SARKAR TIJARA			
1. Indri	130	1,995	14.89
2. Ujinah	34	428	12.59
3. Umra Umri	8	307	38.38
4. Bisru	36	216	6.00
5. Pur	2	546	276.00
6. Pinangwan	75	1,323	17.64
7. Bhasohra	58	1,417	24.43
8. Tijara	132	3,604	27.30
9. Jhimravat	23	496	21.57
10. Khanpur	10	196	19.60
11. Sakras	12	460	37.50
12. Santhadari	8	407	50.88
13. Firozpur	64	3,043	47.55
14. Fatehpur Mungarta	44	1,135	25.80
15. Kotlah	71	1,552	21.86
16. Karherah	10	330	33.00
17. Khora Ka Thanah	8	169	21.13
18. Nagina	7	377	43.86
Actual total of above	732	18,001	26.00
Total stated in the *A'in*	740	17,700	23.92
SARKAR NARNOL			
1. Barh	147	2,061	14.02
2. Babai	88	921	10.46
3. Barodah Rana	47	593	12.62
4. Chalkalanah	518	7,844	15.14
5. Jhojeun	95	2,329	24.52

1	2	3	4
6. Singhanah Udaipur	-	11,882	-
7. Kanodah	11	4,356	396.00
8. Kotputli	171	4,267	24.95
9. Kanori	150	2,721	18.14
10. Khandela	-	1,300	-
11. Khodana	18	808	43.80
12. Lapoti	88	1,510	17.16
13. Villages at the foot of the hill	176	274	1.55
14. Narnol	215	5,913	27.54
15. Narhar	356	4,263	11.97
Actual total of the above	2,080	51,042	24.54
Total stated in the A'in	2,080	51,047	24.54

SARKAR SAHAR

1. Pahari	106	1,229	11.59
2. Sandhauli	26	442	17.00
3. Sahar	386	2,490	6.45
4. Kamah	93	508	5.44
5. Koh Mujahid	24	170	7.08
6. Nunherah	51	618	12.12
7. Hodal	79	463	5.86
Actual total of the above	765	5,918	7.73
Total stated in the A'in	763	5,918	7.76

CHAPTER - VII

TRADE AND COMMERCE

Agra was connected with other important commercial and administrative centres either by road or river. In the south, two different routes led to Surat, through which a very large part of India's oversea trade was conducted.[1] One route passed through Central India and another through Rajasthan. The important places situated on the former route within the *suba* were Dholpur, Gwalior, Narwar, Shivpuri,[2] and on the latter, Fatehpur Sikri, Bayana, Hindaun, Chatsu.[3] The Central Indian route was intersected by several rivers, most of which were without bridges. During the rainy season therefore this route became unserviceable.[4] In certain sections it was also rough and stony.[5] The alternative route through Rajsthan was open throughout the year, though it passed through semi-independent principalities whose rulers claimed certain custom duties.[6]

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1. Tavernier, I, 48,37 , 89, ,48-65; Finch, *Early Travels*,170.
2. Mundy, II, 60 ff ; Tavernier, I, 48-65.
3. Mundy, II, 225 ff; Tavernier, I, 89; Finch, 170
4. Tavernier, I, 37; *Factories* (1646-50), 144-218, 335.
5. Factories (1646-50), 144; Finch, *Early Travels*, 144.
6. Tavernier, I, 37.

Towards the north-west Agra was connected with Delhi and Lahore. The route passed through well-cultivated plains.[1] On both sides of the road there ran a continuous avenue of trees.[2]

Towards the east Agra was connected with Allahabad and Patna. The route passed through Ferozabad, and Etawah.[3] On this route too there were rows of trees on both sides.[4]

These were the major routes connecting the capital city of the Mughal Empire. There were other routes, such as the Agra-Kannauj-Lucknow route described by Finch[5] or the Agra-Kol route travelled by Mundy; but these appear to have been less important.

All along these routes, sarais, or resting places, were constructed for use by merchants and travellers.[6] These

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1. Steel & Crowther, Purchas, IV, 268.
2. Ibid., 268; Coryat, Early Travels, 244; Terry, Early Travels, 293; Roe, Purchas, IV, 432; Bernier, 284; Tavernier, I, 96; Mundy, II, 83; Gladwin, History of Hindustan, 47.
3. Mundy, II, 78-79; Tavernier, I, 113-116.
4. Mundy, II, 83, 86.
5. Finch, Early Travels, 175.
6. Steel & Crowther, 267, 268; Mundy, II, 78; Pelsaert, 50.

were constructed at a convenient distance of one day's journey.[1] At important towns not only were a number of *sarais* built, but these could be large enough to accommodate two to three thousand persons at a time alongwith their horses and camels.[2] These provided separate arrangements for women travellers.[3] Some of these *sarais* were beautiful pieces of architecture.[4] Charges for the loadging of men and their animal were quite low.[5]

Oxen, camels and carts were used for the transportation of goods. Ox transport was the monopoly of the *banjaras*, who specialised in the transport of foodgrains, sugar, salt

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1. Wethington, *Early Travels*, 225; Bernier, 284; Steel & Crowther, 268; Finch, 179 &c.

2. Manniaci, I, 69; "Each of them might hold, more or less, from 800 to 1,000 persons, with their horses, camels, carriages; and some of them are even larger"; Mundy, II, 78: "........in which stand 500 horses and there may conveniently lye 2 or 3,000 people". Finch, 179; Thevenot, 48; Mundy, II, 64-65, 62.

3. Mannicci, I, 69.

4. Mundy, I., 78: The Nur Mahal Ki Sarai was all built of stone, "not one piece of Timber in it, the roomes all arched, each with a severall copula". At Chapaghata was the "Fairest and formalest Sarai that I have yett seene, with 4 faire Towers at the 4 corners, and 21 stately gates att comeinge in and goeinage out, and a verie highe wall round about, full of Battlements, as yet all compleat", (II, p. 89), cf.; Finch, 179; Mannucci, I, 69.

5. In the absence of any complaint about the charges we can conclude so. Also, only Wethington, *Early Travels*, 226 informs that "3d, both for horse and meate dressinge" were charged.

etc.[1] Sometimes a single *tanda* or encampment consisted of 20,000 oxen;[2] so that a single caravan of *banjaras* might carry nearly 2,700 tons.[3] Large herds of oxen kept by the *banjaras* suggest that inland trade was very considerable, otherwise these nomads, whose only means of livelihood seems to have been this trade, would have never been in a position to maintain such a big stock of bullocks. While the cost of transport would have been lower, the time factor was unfavourable, and this seems to have discouraged the European and other traders from employing the services of *banjaras*.

On the other hand, the use of camels as the means of transport by the Europeans was quite extensive;[4] and sometimes as many as 700 camels, made up a *qafila*.[5] Each camel carried about 9 mds. of weight. Camel transport cost $11\frac{3}{4}$[6] to $12\frac{1}{4}$ Jehangir rupees per camel load in 1617-18 from Agra to

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1. *Factories* (1624-29), 270; Mundy, II, 56, 95, 98; Tavernier, I, 33-34.
2. Mundy, II, 98; Tavernier, I, 32-33.
3. *Ibid.*, 98, puts the weight "at 2½ cwt. to each oxe", i.e. 265.5 lb. av., whereas Tavernier, I, 39, at 300 or 350 livers, i.e. 327 to 390.5 lb. av. According to *Factories* (1655-60), 63, it was about 310 lb. av.
4. Withington, 223; Roe, 373; Letters, VI, 214; *Factories* (1618-21), 90; 345-46; (1624-29), 307; (1651-54), 112; Mundy, II, 225.
5. *Factories* (1624-29), 307.
6. Letters, VI, 238; *Factories* (1618-21), 47.

Surat and 15.3/16[1] rupees, in 1651, from Agra to Ahmadabad, i.e. Rs. 1.4 and 1.7 per maund respectively. It took 80 days for camels to reach Surat from Agra.[2]

Transport of goods on carts seems to have been much more convenient and economical as it did not require loading and unloading at every halting place and keeping a close watch on each unit of transport which may get away from the qafila on its own. Also the equivalent of three camel-loads could be put in a cart which travelled at a faster pace.[3] Sometimes very large carts were used for special purposes.[4] The cost of transport from Agra to Surat was 1¼ rupees (hundi) per man;[5] from Patna to Agra Rs. 1-5/8 per man;[6] from Agra to Lahore Rs. 2 per man;[7] and from Agra to Multan

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1. Factories (1651-54), 52.
2. Letters, VI, 238.
3. Ibid., VI, 251-52.
4. Manrique, II, 172, says that huge marble slabs for the Taj Mahal were carried on unusually large carts drawn by 20 to 30 oxen. But when Tavernier, I, 42-43 says that each cart, in normal cases, was drawn by 10 to 12 oxen, it seems an exaggeration, as we have seen that only the equivalent of three camel loads was carried in a cart (Letters, VI, 251-52).
5. Letters, VI, 238.
6. Factories, (1618-21), 199.
7. Ibid. (1637-41), 135.

Rs. 2½.[1] It took about 50 days to cover the distance between Agra and Surat,[2] and about 35 days, between Agra and Patna,[3] and Agra and Multan.[4]

As for river-transport, the Jamuna seems to have served as a major waterway. Salt, opium and carpets were sent to Patna and Bengal during the rains, the boats returned with Bengal merchandise during the rest of the year.[5] Goods thus transported were in substantial quantities.[6] River transport was also used for trade within the suba.[7] For these purposes huge boats, of three to four hundred tons each, were used.[8] In the 1660's the English explored the possibility of transporting the goods from Agra to Bengal through river

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1. Factories (1637-41), 135.
2. Letters, IV, 237-38; Tavernier, I, 44-45, puts it at 35-40 days.
3. Factories (1618-21), 191, 199.
4. Ibid. (1637-41), 135.
5. Fitch, 18; Mundy, II, 87; De Laet, tr. Hoyland, 77-78.
6. Fitch, 18: "I went from Agra to Satangam in Bengala in the companie of one hundred and fourescrore boates"., Jourdain 162, says that annually 10,000 tons' of salt alone was transported to Bengal from Agra on boats.
7. Mundy, II, 87.
8. Ibid., 89: "They are att least 3 or 400 touns a peece, both ends extra-ordinarie high", 224.

transport instead of taking them to Surat over land. But they abandoned the project as being uneconomical,[1] since it would have substantially increased the distance by sea.

Communications were maintained through foot-post. The man who carried the letters was known as *pattamar*.[2] Sometimes letters were sent through express *pattamar*,[3] who were special messengers. They covered about 25 to 30 *kos* in a day.[4]

Market centres for different commodities were situated in different parts of the city of Agra.[5] Merchants from different parts of the Empire as also from outside, gathered in the markets round the year.[6]

The Tajganj was perhaps the biggest and most important market. It was situated in the vicinity of the Taj Mahal. Shah Jahan had planned it as a big centre: "Hee intends, as some think, to remove all the cittie hither, cawseinge hills

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1. *Factories* (1661-64), 371, 325, 402; (1665-67), 2.
2. Withington, 202; *Letters*, IV, IV, 202, 203, 227; Roe, 388-89, 401; *Factories* (1662), 92.
3. *Letters*, VI, 209.
4. Pelsaert, 62.
5. Mundy, II, 213-14, 189, 216, 207; Tavernier, I, 109-11; Manrique, II, 156; *Khulasat-ut Tawarikh*, 39.
6. Salbancke, *Purchas &c.* III, 83-84; Mundy, II, 215-16; *Khulasat-ut Tawarikh*, 39-40.

to be made levell because they might not hinder the prospects of it, places appoynted for streets, shopps, etts. dwellings, commanding Marchants, shoppkeepers, Artificers to Inhabit (it)"[1]. Soon it became a big trading centre "consisting of six large courts all surrounded with porticoes, under which there are chambers for the use of merchants"[2].

The market for livestock was called _nakhkhas_ "where they sell horses, camells, oxen, etts."[3] It must have been situated on the outskirt of the city. Manrique was surprised to find a whole market for sweetmeats, separate from the one where foodstuffs were available.[4]

Tavernier mentions a market on the outskirt of the city, towards the Delhi side.[5] But it is not known what commodities were sold there.

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1. Mundy, II, 213-14.
2. Tavernier, I, 109-10.
3. Mundy, II, 189.
4. Manrique, II, 156.
5. Tavernier, I, III.

A large variety of commodities[1] were offered for sale in these and other markets. Wholesale and retail trade both flourished. There were some merchants who could store goods worth several lakhs of rupees at a time.[2] Goods were available, all the time, in such large quantities that as an English factor put it, "if (we) had a million pound sterling lying here in Agra it would quickly be laid out in several sorts of cloth and indigo that this country doth yield in great abundance".[3]

The major items for which traders from distant places

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1. Salbancke, 83-84, informs us that "very much Merchandise of silkes, and cloths, and of precious stones, both Rubyes, Diamonds, and Pearles ......" etc. were sold. Mundy, II, 215-16, supplies us with a long list of items of consumption: "The Bazare affoards plentie of all things, as flesh, fish, graine, fruits, etts., as Beefe, Mutton, partrege, guiles, pigeons, Turtle doves (sometymes geese and ducks); Mangoes, Plantans (bananas), Ananesses (ananas, pineapple), etts. (and other) fruites of this countries (and out of Persia), Raysins, Almonds, Pistaches (Pistacia), walnutts, apples, orrenges, Prunes (Plums), prunellas or dryed Apricocks (apricots), Musk millions (*kharbuza*) ..... water millions (*tarbuza*), "*Letters*, IV, 250: musk, civet, etc.; Pelsaert.

2. *Letters*, IV, 250: "Agra sents about 20 or 30,000 churles of indigo per year to Persia and Turkey. Also some people have three or four years' indigo in their hands".

3. *Letters*, VI, 203.

visited Agra were indigo, cotton textiles of various kinds like 'semanas', baftas, 'Dariyabadis', 'Khairabadis', 'guzzees', 'Mehrkul', 'chintz', Bengal-silk, "cloth of gold and silver of great fineness, used for turbans, in lace and other adornments for women", sugar, saltpetre, etc. Most of the commodities were produced in the suba, while some were 're-exports'. The Dutch and the English maintained their 'factories' at Agra during the first half of the 17th century to facilitate export of goods.

Fatehpur Sikri, which enjoyed the importance of being the capital of the Mughal Empire under Akbar for a brief period, was also an important market centre in the early years of the 17th century. From Agra to this place, a distance of about twenty three miles, the road appeared to be one busy market,[1] in the words of an exaggerated report. In its prime it enjoyed the same importance and reputation as Agra, it had a spacious market-place about half a mile long, with stone buildings on both the sides of the paved street.[2]

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1. Fitch, Early Travels, 18.

2. Finch, 149; De Laet, tr. Hoyland, The Empire of the Great Mogol, 42-43.

Bayana was an important centre in the indigo trade. During the months when indigo-dye was manufactured there was great rush of buyers for purchases on the spot, the merchants coming from all regions of the world.[1]

Of lesser importance were the markets of Kol, Khurja, Etawah, Khanwa, Hindaun, etc.[2] It will be noticed that references are mainly to those markets where indigo-dye was manufactured. No market centre has come to light where cotton textile or any other important item of export was predominantly available.

We have seen that Agra was connected with important towns of India; and merchants from all parts of India as also outside flocked to Agra. Our information is not enough to help us make an attempt to determine the volume of trade in various items from the suba. We can only form some rough idea about the pattern of trade.

In the east, Bengal supplied raw silk, and woven silk materials in large quantities, and "thousands of maunds is allwaise to be bought in Agra".[3] Bengal silk was mainly laden

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1. Finch, 148, 151; Pelsaert, 17; Manrique, II, 152; Factories, &c.
2. Pelsaert, 15; Salbancke, 83; Finch, 151; Mundy, II, 76, 87; Factories, &c.
3. Factories (1618-21), 229.

on boats at Patna; the English factors, in the initial stages, tried to make their silk purchases at Patna.[1] Other items which were imported from Bengal were cotton goods, food-grains-rice, and ghi, either by the Yamuna or by land route.[2] These were sent in very large quantities and were also re-exported to other places.[3] Agra exported or re-exported to Bengal large quantities of salt, opium, cotton and cotton goods and some quick-silver and vermilion.[4]

Musk[5] and spikenard[6] came from Bhutan and in return

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1. *Factories* (1618-21), 193-94: ".........that wee buye in Agra you will perceave a great diference in price for theise four sortes, to saye, one-third of the sorte No. 1 and two-thirds of the sorte No. 2 hathe cost us together in Agra neare upon 5¼ rup(ees) net the seare of 30 pices, which here halfe on half th'other maye been bought for about 4 rup(ees) net the seare of 34½ pices weight per seare"; also, pp. 197-98; p. 218: "They can provide it cheaper than in Agra by 30 per cent".

2. Pelsaert, 4-5, 9; Mundy, II, 95.

3. Mundy, II, 95.

4. Pelsaert, 9; Mundy, II, 140, 143; Fitch, 18.

5. Tavernier, II, 261; *Factories* (1646-51), 182, informs that it was better than the Chinese musk.

6. Pelsaert, 9, 45.

calicoes and indigo was taken back.[1] Terry refers to trade over long routes with China. But he has failed to specify the items of trade and the route taken by the merchants.[2]

From the Lucknow market Agra obtained sugar, indigo and different varieties —particularly the 'Dariyabadis' and 'Khairabadis'— of calico.[3] We have not been able to ascertain what items were marketed in Lucknow from Agra.

In the west, direct or indirect trade relations existed with Lahore, Multan, Tatta, Ispahan, Kabul, Qandahar, Persia, and Central Asia. To Lahore Agra exported indigo, all kind of white cotton and silk textile, quick-silver, virmilion and spices.[4] These were carried farther on to Multan, Tatta, Kabul etc.[5] Likewise merchandise from these places was routed through Lahore to Agra. From Multan sugar, camels, certain types of cotton textiles came to Agra for local consumption and for distribution to other parts of

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1. Tavernier, II, 261.

2. Terry, Early Travels, 295: "..........great distance will appeare by the long travell of the Indian merchants, who are usually in their journey and returne more then two years from Agra to the walls of China".

3. Factories (1642-45), 6; (1646-50), 225; (1651-54), 71; &c.

4. Hawkins, Early Travels, 92; Finch, 155; Factories, (1637-41), 135.

5. Pelsaert, 31.

6. Pelsaert, 31-32, 45; Factories (1634-37), 192: "That 'Synda' merchants, bring thin goods from Agra to Lahore or Multan and then transport it to the Thatta port by river route for Persia, Turkey, etc.".

India.[1] Fruits, like "apples, pears, quinces, pomegranates, melons, almonds, dates, raisins, filberts, pistachios, and many others kinds" came from Kabul and Qandahar.[2] From Lahore, carpets and ormesines were imported and distributed to the east and elsewhere.[3]

Trade with Persia was carried through both the land and sea route.[4] There was much demand in Persia for powdered sugar and sugar-candy, indigo, cotton textile,[5] and spicke-nand.[6] These goods were also marketed in Turkey, Samarqand and Kashgar.[7] Persian silk was available in the Agra market, but it seems to have been quite costly.[8]

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1. Pelsaert, 31.
2. Ibid., 31, 48.
3. Ibid., 9, 31.
4. Finch, 179; Letters, IV, 250, 315; Factories (1634-37), &c. While Armeinans and Persians traders took the land route, English routed them through the sea (Factories (1651-54) 148-49).
5. Finch, 179; Letters, IV, 250, 315; Factories (1618-21), 76, 141-42; (1622-23), 23; (1634-37), 138; (1642-45), 137, 227; (1651-54), 58.
6. Pelsaert, 48.
7. Finch, 179; Letters, IV, 250.
8. Factories (1618-21), 46, "Persian silk is worth 16s. a a seer, and none to be had".

Agra imported from Kashmir saffron, its celebrated shawls and some walnuts.[1]

Towards south Agra exported Bengal silk, indigo, sugar and food-grains,[2] these goods going to Ahmadabad, parts of Maharashtra and Upper Kannada. Sometimes, owing to a great demand for the Agra indigo some peasants even ventured directly to sell it in the Surat markets[3] to fetch better price.

There was great demand for spices in Agra, and these were imported by both Indian and European merchants. Sometimes when there was a fall in supplies, prices soared very high.[4] The Agra merchants stationed their agents, at Golconda specifically to purchase spices brought there from Masulipatam.[5] Pelsaert gives an estimate of the annual off-take of some of the spices in Agra: cloves- 35,000 lb., nutmegs - 30,000 lb., and mace- 30 sackels. Of these quantities the Dutch supplied cloves to the extent of 20,000 lb., nutmegs 15,000 lb., and mace 15 to 20 sackels.[6]

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1. Pelsaert, 35-36.
2. Pelsaert, 19; Tavernier, II, 2; Factories (1618-21),102; (1624-29), 235-36; (1646-50), 255; (1661-64), 344; Letters, III, 41.
3. Factories (1655-60), 66.
4. Factories, (1622-23), 42-43 and Pelsaert, 23 give the price of clove at Rs.220/- and Rs.200/- per maund respectively, which reached Rs. 650 to 700/-, Mundy, II, 140. It came down by 60% when Dutch supplies reached Agra.
5. Pelsaert, 22.
6. Ibid., 23-24.

Agra's overseas trade with the European countries was routed through the port of Surat on the western coast. The main items of export included indigo,[1] different varieties of cotton textiles[2] - 'Mehrkul', 'Dariyabadis', 'Khairabadis', 'Semanas', 'Guzzees', 'Akbari', 'Ambertees', etc.; Bangal silk,[3] carpets,[4] sugar,[5] gum-lac,[6] saltpetre;[7] some musk,[8] and spikenard.[9]

Cotton textiles were also exported to Mokha, Bantam,

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1. Finch, 156; Willington, _Early Travels_, 223; _Letters_, II, 194, 140-41; IV, V, VI; _Factories_ (1618-21), 46-47, 61, 323; (1624-29), 95, 189, 208; _Factories_ &c; Pelsaert, 23; Mundy, II, 76 & other European sources.

2. _Factories_ (1618-21), 47, 73-74, 84; (1634-37), 274; (1637-41), 232, 278, 192 &c.; Thevenot, 103; _Letters_, IV, 239; VI, 165, 236, &c.

3. _Factories_ (1618-21), 169, 193-94, 213, 229, 253 &c.

4. _Letters_, VI, 236; _Factories_ (1618-21), 47, 73-74.

5. _Factories_ (1618-21), 73-74, 10; (1624-29), 335; (1630-33), 19,22; (1637-41), 192-232; Mundy, II, 192.

6. _Factories_ (1637-41), 192, 198-99, 232.

7. _Ibid_. (1624-29), 153, 239, 270, 335; (1646-50), 121; Mundy, II, 76, 225.

8. _Factories_ (1646-50), 182.

9. _Ibid_. (1618-21), 155, 161, 169.

——— Borneo, Java, Sumatra, Philippines and some other islands of the south-east Asia[1] and Melinde.[2]

Our study of the organisation of trade is mainly based on the European sources, and that too English records. It seems that for undertaking any commercial activity inside the imperial territories of the Mughal Empire some sanction from the Emperor was necessary.[3] In the early stages the English stationed a representative exclusively at the court to gain favours for the Company. But soon this job was given to the chief factor of Agra.[4] Through the presents of rarities and novelties to the Emperors and the nobility the English were able to win favour for themselves, including reduction [redacted] or exemption from rahdari, or transit duty.[5]

Though Agra was usually the main market, merchants and their agents preferred to go to the primary places of manufacture of the commodities which they wanted to purchase.[6]

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1. *Factories* (1642-45), 7, 137, 208; Tavernier, II, 6.
2. An Arab town on the east coast of Africa, Tavernier, II, 5-6.
3. *Letters*, I, 238-39.
4. *Ibid.*, II, 106, 121-22; *Factories* (1618-21), 335.
5. *Factories* (1642-45), 159-60: "....we also hope to purchase into you large immunities in matter of your customes and rhawdaries (*rahdari*, a transit duty), as the Dutch did the last year: 214; (1651-54), 281. The factors complain that due to presents and bribes the Dutch enjoy greater favours with the officialdom; Bernier, 292-93: Dutch "find it useful to have confidential persons near the court always ready to prefer a complaint against a governor or officer..
6. *Letters*, VI, 165, 235, 242-49 (for indigo); *Factories*,(1618-21), 159 (for 'samanas) 204, 212 (for Bengal silk); Bernier, 292-93.

In case of indigo, agents were dispatched to Bayana, Khurja, and Koil, the important centres, during the season;[1] for calicoes, English agents were sent to Lucknow for the purchas of 'Dariyabadis', 'Mehrkuls', 'Khairabadis', 'gussees' etc., or to Samana for 'samanas'.[2] This was true of other merchants also: Armenians and Mughal merchants went to the countryside for the purchase of indigo.[3] On the other hand, Agra merchants stationed their agents at Golconda to purchase diamonds and spices.[4]

Whenever it was felt that the stationing of some agents at the centre of production was not advantageous, those agents were recalled to Agra and purchases were affected from the Agra markets.[5]

The services of brokers were fully utilized and some of them were employed on a permanent basis.[6] At the time the

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1. Pelsaert, 15-16, 8; Factories, (1642-45), 303-04.
2. Factories (1618-21), 336; (1642-45), 6-7, 278, 299.
3. Pelsaert, 15-16, 18; Factories (1642-45), 303-04.
4. Factories (1618-21), 326, 258; (1651-54), 148-49.
5. Ibid. (1642-45), 300-01, 304; (1651-54), 112; Ananti Das, Bindaban at Rs. 20/- p.m. Gokul, Chajja and Madhur were employed at Rs. 10/- p.m.
6. Ibid.

English factory was dissolved Dhanaji was entrusted with the job of looking after the English interests at Agra.[1] Sometimes agreements were made with the brokers, on a commission basis for the supply of goods.[2]

We have seen that the Bayana indigo was deemed the best in the whole of the Empire and, therefore, there was great demand for the commodity from all quarters. Taking advantage of it the merchants who controlled the markets in their respective regions raised its prices. Under these conditions sometimes the English and the Dutch reached an understanding to purchase indigo jointly.[3] In the 1630's the Mughal Emperor granted monopoly rights to one Manchandas Danda for the purchase and sale of indigo for the whole Empire. But this experiment ended in failure, because when he charged monopoly prices merchants desisted from buying the commodity.[4]

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1. Factories (1634-37), 79, 203.

2. Ibid. (1665-67), 263; (1668-69), 6-7. Agreements were signed with one Piru Hingola on a 10% Commission, and some money was advanced to him for making purchases; he was required to supply the goods from Agra to Surat.

3. Factories (1646-50), 76-77, 225, 253-54.

4. Factories (1630-33), 324; (1634-36), 13.

In the field of commercial finance we find that methods were quite advanced. Credit, and payment through bills of exchange, were prevelent. We also find insurance being employed.

The very large number of references to transactions through *hundis*, or bills of exchange suggest that the physical transportation of cash was very limited. Only in case of short distance trade was ready money usually carried.[1]

It was considered safer to carry precious stones and jewels to Agra and sell them in the court, and invest the cash thus obtained in goods at Agra.[2] Also sale proceeds against the import of goods from various places was invested at Agra.[3] Sales were made on credit basis also, and sometimes delays took place and recovery became difficult.[4]

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1. *Factories* (1618-21), 346.

2. *Letters*, VI, 250-51; *Factories* (1618-21), 114, 219, 335.

3. *Letters*, IV, 238; *Factories* (1618-21), 37, 231, 134; *Letters*, V, 105, 111.

4. *Factories* (1618-21), 184, 182-83, 201, 6-7, 164: "As regards the large debt of 30,000 'rupias' they have by virtue of the King's farman fetched the debtor's surety from Lahore and he is now a prisoner in their hands".

A very elaborate system of bills of exchange existed, and major transactions were made through them. Agra was connected with all the important commercial towns of India, and some of the major towns of Central Asia as well: *hundis* issued at other places could be discounted at Agra, and vice-versa.[1]

The commission or discount charged on these *hundis* differed from place to place depending basically on the distance between the two places, and sometimes, the supply of cash. Between Ahmedabad and Agra it was at 2½ - 3%;[2] Agra and Patna, 1.7/8 to 2%;[3] Agra and Delhi 1%;[4] Agra and Surat, 4.1/8 to 5%.[5] Sometimes, the rate of discount between Agra and Ahmadabad or Surat rose from 1 to 2% if goods passed through the territories of the local principalities of Dautavar and

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1. *Letters*, I, 106; IV, 196-97, 341; V, 111; VI, 164; *Factories* (1634-37), 169; (1642-45), 302, &c from Surat to Agra; (1618-21), 85-86, 181-82; (1622-23), 24; (1624-29), 270, 273; (1630-33), 96, &c. from Ahmadabad to Agra; *Letters*, IV, 234, 236; *Factories* (1618-21), 337, 346, 1622-23, 115 &c. from Burhanpur to Agra; *Factories* (1618-21) 257, 256, 198, 200, 236 &c. from Agra to Patna; (1651-54) 8, Agra to Delhi; (1646-50), 225, Agra and Bayana; (1618-21), 337, Agra and Samana; *Letters*, II, 286, Agra and Isphahan. Tavernier, II, 36, for Dacca-Agra-Surat, Patna-Agra-Surat, Banaras-Agra-Surat; &c.
2. *Factories* (1624-29), 270, 273; (1637-41), 193.
3. *Factories* (1618-21), 236, 248.
4. *Factories* (1651-54), 8.
5. *Factories* (1642-45), 302; (1646-50), 225; (1651-54), 122; (1655-60), 18-19; Tavernier, I, 24.

Sargant.[1] These rates took into consideration the difference the *chalani* (current) and *sikka* (newly coined) rupees in which the final payments were made.[2] Also a time limit was fixed during which period these *hundis* were required to be cashed; otherwise some extra interest was charged.[3]

There was thus an organised system of credit. The *sarrafs* or money-changers often set up as bankers. There were some rich men in Agra who advanced large amounts to these *sarrafs* and took interest at the rate of 5/8% per month. The *sarrafs* on their part, then lent out the money so deposited with them at from 1% to 2½%.[4] It seems that the rate of interest was highest with those who took small amounts; but the English merchants who borrowed money from time to time,[5] paid interest at between ½% to 1%.[6]

It is not easy to work out from our evidence, the

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1. Tavernier, I, 37.

2. Irfan Habib, 70 (fn. 45).

3. Between Agra and Surat it was two months - Tavernier, I, 36; *Factories* (1618-21), 247 puts it at 40 days.

4. *Factories* (1642-45), 303.

5. *Letters*, II, 298-99; VI, 214,220,236,238; *Factories* (1624-29), 271.

6. *Factories*,(1642-45), 303; (1646-50), 122. See also the table of interest rates at Agra in Irfan Habib, 'Usury in Medieval India', *Comparative Studies in Society & History*, VI, No. 4, p. 403. Apparently, there was a fall in the interest rates during the first half of the 17th century, to judge from the details of the table.

general movement of prices at Agra or in the Agra province. The only commodity for which much information is available is indigo. But, since there is nothing to add to the price-data of the Bayana indigo[1] already published, it has been thought sufficient to give an indexed table to indicate the movement of indigo prices.

(Base Rs. 16 per *man*, maximum price 1595-96=100)

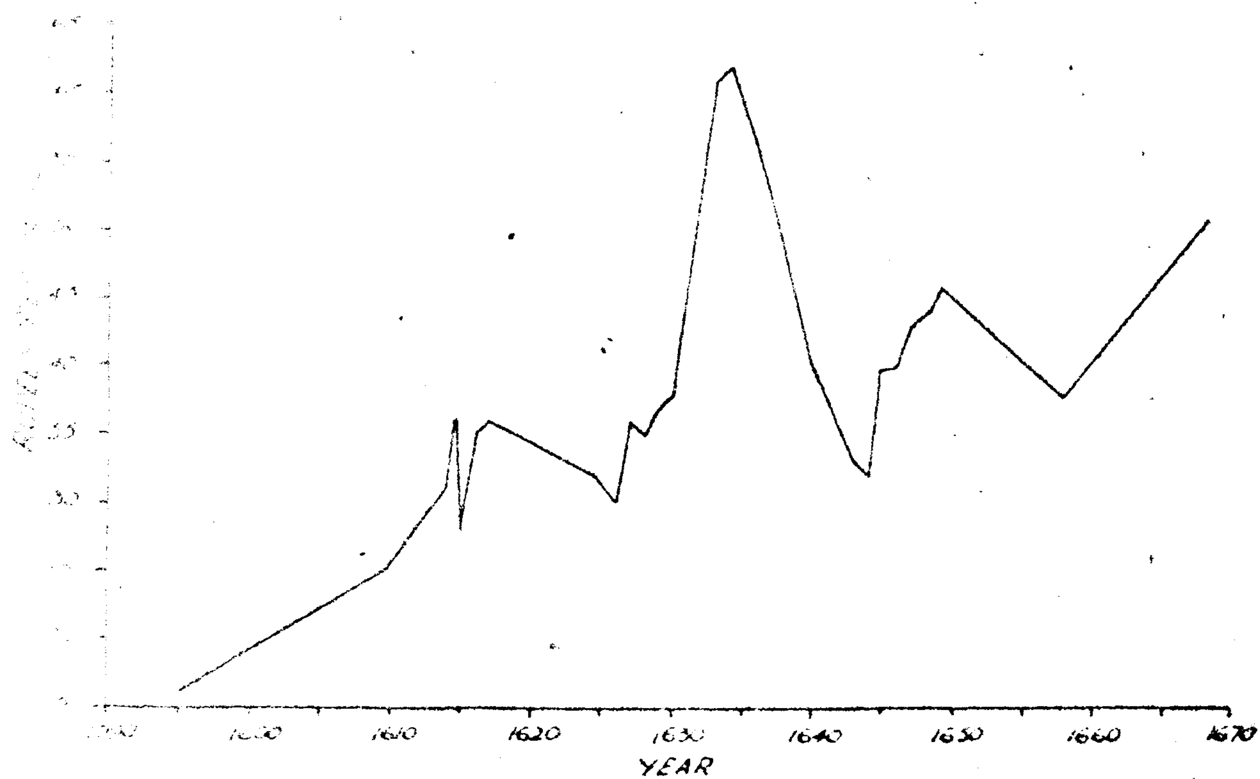
Year	Index
1595-96	100
1609	100 - 150
1609	156.25
1614-15	212.50 - 225
1615	168.75 - 175
1616	218.75
1616	181.25 - 206.25
1616	225 & 237.50
1617	175 - 225
1618	218.75
1624-25	175 - 200
1626	187.50
1627	210.95 - 218.75 218.75 - 228.12 & 187.50

1. Irfan Habib, pp. 86-88n.

Table continued

Year	Index
1627-28	203.13 - 218.75
1628-29	225 - 231.25
1630	237.50
1633	381.25
1633-34	387.50 (400.00)
1635-36	281.25 - 350
1640	250.00
1643	206.25
1643-44	162.50 - 196.87
1644-45	231.25 - 250
1645	206.25
1645-46	250
1646	262.50
1646-47	268.75
1647-48	254.68 -273.43
1648	262.50
1648	272.65
1648-49	250 - 287.50
1649	218.75 - 225
1650	293.75
1650	287.50
1651	318.75
1655	206.25 - 237.50
1655-56	206.25
1658	237.50
1668	318.75

INDIGO PRICE CURVE



From the above table and the graph we find a definite upward movement in the indigo-prices. Whenever there was competition among the buyers to take larger quantities prices were raised.[1] But how much benefit flowed from the increased prices to the peasants is very difficult to assess when we know that local merchants controlled the prices in their respective regions.[2] Also whenever an upwards movement took place merchants arrived at an understanding to bring down the prices.[3] It was perhaps the large margin of profit which prompted the Mughal Emperor to award monopoly rights to an individual in the 1630's. We find monopoly prices prevailing between 1633 and 1635.[4] But this experiment failed and monopoly was abolished. How far indigo production suffered due to this monopoly we are unable to assess in the absence of any evidence. We have also not come across any information which may suggest that great demand for Agra indigo gave impetus to more extensive cultivation and production.

Some price-data are available for sugar. The English

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1. *Factories* (1630-31), 131; (1634-36), 206; (1646-50), 202.
2. Pelsaert, 17.
3. *Factories* (1637-41), 278; (1642-45), 202.
4. *Ibid.*, (1634-36), 1-2, 12.

records, presumably, refer to white powdered sugar (*shakkar-i safed*). Its price as mentioned in the *Ain* comes to Rs.4.27 per *man-i Shahjahani*.[1] The rates quoted in the English records are: in 1639,[2] Rs. 10/- 1646 (Nov.) Rs. 4½ to 5, and (Dec.) Rs. 6/-,[3] and in 1651, Rs. 6/-[4] per *man-i Shahjahani*. We notice a definite upward trend in the prices of sugar, and by the end of 1646 40% increase took place compared to the rates of the *Ain*. The year 1651 was marked with good crop[5] and therefore, it seems that it remained at Rs. 6/- per *man*; otherwise some further increase might have taken place.

Price-data about other commodities are extremely limited. Such, as are available, are quoted below:

Commodity	Year	Rate per *man-i Shah-Jahani*	Source
Saltpetre	1628	Rs. 2.50	*Factories*, (1624-29), 215.
	1650's	Rs. 4.89	Tavernier, II, 12.
Gum-lac	1617(Dec)	Rs. 10.66	*Letters*, VI, 237
	1639	Rs. 11.00	*Factories* (1637-41), 182.

1. *Ain*, I, Naval Kishore ed., 42.
2. *Factories* (1637-41), 192.
3. *Factories* (1646-50), 56, 62.
4. *Ibid*., (1651-54), 52.
5. *Ibid*.

Spices	Year	man-i Jahangiri	Source
Cloves	1617 (Dec.)	Rs. 160.00	Letters, VI, 254.
	1622 (Feb.)	Rs. 220.00	Factories (1622-23), 42-43.
	1626	Rs. 265.52	Pelsaert, 23.
	1631 (Jan.)	Rs. 360.00	Factories (1632-33), 158.
	1632 (Aug.)	Rs. 650-700	Mundy, II, 140.
Nutmeg	1617 (Dec.)	Rs. 46.00	Letters, VI, 254.
	1626	Rs. 132.76	Pelsaert, 23.
Mace	1617 (Dec.)	Rs. 70.00	Letters, VI, 254.
	1626	Rs. 398.28	Pelsaert, 23.

One can say that, generally speaking, the prices rose in respect of practically every commodity.

The prices of gur, ghee, gram, moth and meal (ata), are available for the years 1637 and 1638 in Dutch records, which Moreland has abstracted. If we compare them with those given in the Ain, the rise is quite substantial.[1] Similarly, if we compare the prices of some of the foodgrains which belong to 1670 with those of the Ain, the same result emerges.[2]

	Ain	1670
Wheat	0.40	1.14
Sukhdas rice	3.33	2.86
Gram	0.27	0.25
Ghee	3.50	10.00

1. Moreland, J.U.P.H.S., 162-64 (Continued)
2. Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, p. 61; Irfan Habib, 82-83, suggests that the earlier sukhdas variety seems to have been superseded by a more inferior variety.

On the whole, therefore, one can say that the 17th century, particularly, its first fifty years, was a period of 'inflation' with prices rising by anything between 100 and 200 per cent at Agra in respect of major commodities, foodgrains as well as articles of export and import.

.....foot-note no.1 continue from previous page..

Months	Gur in pice/seer		Ghee Pice/seer		Gram Rs./md.		Moth Rs./md.		Meal (ata) Rs./md.	
	1637	1638	1637	1638	1637	1638	1637	1638	1637	1638
January	4	6	12	11	1.0	1.18	-	1.13	1.0	1.27
February	4	6	12	11	1.0	1.28	-	1.27	1.0	1.27
March	4	6	11	12	1.0	1.82	-	-	1.0	1.63
April	4	6	11	16	1.0	1.82	-	2.0	1.0	1.45
May	4	6	11	16	1.08	2.05	-	-	1.0	2.02
June	5½	6	11	14	1.08	2.13	1.02	-	1.13	2.0
July	6	6	11	16	1.08	2.18	1.0	-	1.13	2.18
August	6	6	11	16	1.09	2.18	1.09	-	1.11	2.18
September	8	5	11	14	1.16	2.0	1.0	-	1.11	2.18
October	9	5	11	13	1.10	1.25	1.10	-	1.10	1.38
November	8	5	11	13	1.05	1.25	1.0	-	1.09	1.38
December	9	5	11	13	1.09	1.25	1.05	-	1.36	1.38

Moreland gives the following comparative table of prices:

	Ain lb/Re	Early 1637 lb/Re.
Ghee	21	8 - 8½
Gram	277	74
meal	148	74

The Ain does not give the price of gur.

CHAPTER - VIII

URBAN CONDITIONS

In Chapter-I we have already attempted a survey of the major towns of Agra. Quite naturally, Agra, the biggest city in the Empire, towered over the other towns and townships of the *suba*. Much of our information on urban life within the *suba* indeed relates specifically to the city of Agra.

Artisans formed a very significant portion of the urban population. Pelsaert suggests that the majority of artisans engaged in dyeing and weaving in the towns were Muslims.[1] Among the wage-labourers, perhaps, those engaged in building construction formed the largest group.[2] We are not certain if wages from such labour were their only source of income or that they were also moved seasonally to the villages for work in sowing and harvesting operations.

A large retinue of servants, doing all type of menial work, was maintained by the nobles and big merchants.[3] To

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1. Pelsaert, 77: ".... the Moslems practising scarcely any craft but dyeing and weaving which are followed by Hindus in some places, but by Moslems everywhere".
2. *Baburnama*, tr. Beveridge, 520.
3. Pelsaert, 61-62: "Peons and servants are exceedingly numerous in this country, for everyone-be he mounted soldier,

(foot-note continue on next page)

mention a few; *silahdar*, who attended on the horse; *bailwan* or carter to attend on cart and oxen; *farrash*, tent-pitcher; the *mashalchi* or torch-bearer; the *sarvan* or camel-driver; *mahavats* to attend on elephants; messengers, who carried messages from one place to another, and so on.

As far as salaries and wages of these various sections of population is concerned, we are fortunate in possessing some information. Our sources suggest that cavalry troopers received the higher amount as salary. They received from 20 to 100 rupees[1] per month, according to their gradations. From this amount a deduction of 10 to 20% was made.[2] Their salary was however not regularly paid; they received in a year, from six to eight months' pay, and that too not all in cash.[3] Moreover they had presumably to maintain their horses and horse-attendants out of their pay. But cavalry troopers were apparently an elite corps. Armed guards employed during the time

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.....foot-note continued from previous page.

merchant, or kings official-keeps as many as his position and circumstances permit. Outside the house, they serve for display, running continually before their master's horse; inside, they do the work of the house, each knowing his duties".

1. Manucci, II, 364.
2. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 360-362.
3. *Ibid.*, II, 364: ".....in respect of one year's service they received six or 8 months's pay. Even that is not in coin; they are always foisted off as respects two month's pay with cloths and old raiment from the house-hold........".

of a journey received only Rs. 4 per month or Rs. 5 per month if journey exceeded sixty days.[1] This seems to have been the usual pay for foot-soldiers.

In case of servants also we find that payment of salary was seldom made regularly; nor was it all made in cash. They received three to four rupees per month of forty days.[2] This goes to suggest that no fixed rule existed about the service under the nobles, much depended on their whims.[3]

A very large variety of craftsmen were employed in the towns. An article had to pass through several hands before it came as a finished product in the market.[4] But the wages paid to the artisans, though they were engaged in entirely

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1. Tavernier, I, 46.
2. Pelsaert, 62: "..... the wages are paid by the Moguls only after large deductions, for the most of the great lords reckon 40 days to the month, and pay from three to four rupees for that period; while wages are left several months in arrears and then paid in worn out clothes or other things."
3. Pelsaert, 56: "It is the practice of the king, or rather of his wife, to give rapid advancement and promotion to any soldier, however low his rank, who has carried out his orders with credit, or has displayed courage in the field".

   Ibid., 60: ".......for a job which one man would do in Holland here passes through four men's hands before it is finished.......".

different trades, were almost uniform, being 5 to 6 _dam_[1] or 0.166 to 0.199 rupee a day. Also, an ordinary labourer in house building received 2 _dam_ a day, while a superior labourer was paid 3½ _dam_ or 7 pice by the Dutch in 1637-38.[2] Those who worked on gold earned two crowns (   ) for each _tola_,[3] such piece-wages are, of course, difficult to use, since they cannot be converted into daily wages. Thevenot, who was greatly impressed with the artistic works of these goldsmiths, calls them "poor people",[4] which suggests that the goldsmiths were not prosperous; when the same writer says that the labourers who were employed by these goldsmiths for beating and flattening the rods of gold earned something,[5] we can imagine that the earnings of these labourers could not have been high.

Though the cavalry was thus the highest paid stratum, even the soldiers were "obliged to borrow money from the

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1. Pelsaert, 60; Irfan Habib, 381; Moreland - _From Akbar &c_. p. 194.
2. Moreland (_J.U.P.H.S._), 159-60.
3. Thevenot, 55.
4. _Ibid._, 55.
5. _Ibid._, 55.

sarrafs, or money changers".[1] From this statement we can easily visualise the condition of others.

On the other hand, those engaged in trade and commerce, or who belonged to the ruling class, amassed great wealth. Ordinary shopkeepers who dealt in spices, drugs, fruits, cloth, etc., gave an appearance of poverty to save themselves from the extortions of the nobility, who demanded articles at very low prices.[2] Those merchants who were engaged in whole-sale trade were quite rich, and were able to stock goods valued at several lacs of rupees.[3] Some merchants had taken to large-scale cultivation and were in a position to control indigo prices in their localities.[4]

Money-changing was a very lucrative business, and Hindus and Muslims both participated in this profession.[5] They were commonly known as shroffs or sarraffs. They acted as bankers

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1. Manucci, II, 354; Bernier, 220-21: "....in the Indies, any unusual delay in the payment of the troops is sure to be attended with fatal consequences; after selling whatever trifling articles they may possess, the soldiers disband and die of hunger"; Manucci, II, 354: "Sometime the soldiers sell their papers to these money-changers, who for a note of hand for hundred rupees will give them twenty or twenty five.

2. Pelsaert, 63.

3. Letters, IV, 250: Roe reported to the Co., that twenty to thirty thousand churles of indigo was sent to Persia and Turkey every year, and that there were many merchants who were able to store three to four years' supply.

4. Pelsaert, 17.

5. Ibid., 28-29.

"to make remittances of money and issue letters of exchange".[1] sarraff had become such an important part of the society that a village was considered very small which had no sarraffs.[2] They charged high rate of interest.[3] The nobles had some sort of understanding with them and they were obliged to share their profits with them.[4] Those engaged in the business of precious stones and metals were "most able and expert in their business";[5] they were also extremely rich.[6]

The nobility, of course, possessed the maximum amount of wealth. From the king thay secured large revenue assignments.[7] Against these assignments they were required to look after the administration of the assigned territory and maintain forces to help the king.

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1. Tavernier, I, 28-29.
2. Ibid., I, 28-29.
3. Letters, VI, 193: Agra factors advice to the Co., that dollars imported should not be given to the sarraffs to get them converted into Indian rupees otherwise the English would lose about 15%; Manucci, II, 354: "Sometimes the soldiers sell their papers to these money-changers, who for a note of hand for 100 rupees will give them 20 or 25".
4. Manucci, II, 354: "These (sarraffs) have an understanding, to share interest, with the generals and officers who employ these soldiers"; Tavernier, I, 28-29: ".....these changers (sarraffs) have an understanding with the Governors of Provinces, they enhance the rupee at their will for paisa and the paisa for these shells".
5. Pelsaert, 77.
6. Hawkins, Early Travels, III, He says that Hira Chand, a Jeweller, had purchased a diamond valued at one hundred thousand rupees. But as the Emperor had declared that none could keep a diamond of over 5 carats, Hira Chand cleverly presented that diamond to the Emperor, which shows the extent of the wealth of the jeweller who could afford to part with such a valuable diamond; Manrique, II, 156, says that Khatri merchants were so rich that the heap of coins in their shops looked like grain-heaps.
7. Pelsaert, 54; Mundy, II, 86, 189, 97, 91.

But by maintaining smaller contingents than the size prescribed and collecting more than the fixed revenue from the peasants, they amassed great wealth.[1]

The great wealth amassed by the ruling class came through the exploitation and oppression of the peasantry and the lower strata of society. Land was neither scarce nor unfertile, but the peasantry was left with nothing to invest in land,[2] and as a result the state income from revenue had gone down.[3] The *jagirdars* were subject to frequent transfers or even dismissal. This uncertainty about the future induced them to squeeze as much from the peasantry as possible.[4] They similarly oppressed the artisans and labourers in the towns.[5]

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1. Xavier, 122: "These are captains and lords who have forty, fifty millions"; Tavernier, I, 389: That when Zafar Khan, Grand Vazir, built a new palace he invited Aurangzeb to visit it and made presents valued at 7 lac rupees; Tavernier, I, 18. The nobles hoarded gold coins instead of putting them into transactions (Manrique, II, 155-56).
2. Pelsaert, 47.
3. *Ibid.*, 54.
4. Xavier, 121; Tavernier, I, 391; Mundy, II, 73.
5. Pelsaert 60: "If any of these (governor, the nobles, the *diwans* etc.) wants a workman, the man is not asked if he is willing to come, but in seized in the house or in the street, well beaten if he should dare to raise any objection and in the evening paid half his wages, or nothing at all".

The miserable conditions in which the masses lived is very well reflected in their diet, clothing and houses. Very little information is available about the food habits of the mass of the population. With extremely low income what else people could afford than coarse-grains. Pelsaert says that poor people ate _bajra_, jawar, rice, and _kangni_.[1] At another place, while speaking of the oppression the people suffered from, he says that "even dry bread is scarcely left to fill their stomachs".[2] The soldiery, which was better paid, could only afford _khichari_ and _satawa_,[3] from which we may easily surmise about the diet of other people. Generally people did not eat meat.[4]

I have come across only one passage where luxurious dishes served in the houses of nobles have been described.[5] Food was served to them in highly ornamented gold and silver utensils.[6]

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1. Pelsaert, 48; Xavier, 121.
2. _Ibid._, 54.
3. Tavernier, I, 391: "......the horsemen as well as the infantry soldier supports himself with a little flour kneaded with water and black sugar .....and in the evening whenever they have the necessaries, they make _khichri_.......such is the ordinary food of both soldiers and the poor people".
4. Pelsaert, 60: In the Agra the workmen "know little of the taste of meat".
5. Pelsaert, 68: "The food consists of _birini_ (dressed rice), _ausbalia_ (perhaps _al-shalla_ i.e. spiced meat), _Pallaeb_ (_pulao_), (yellow, red, green or black), _zueyla_ (?) _dumpiara_ (meat with onion etc.); also roast meats, and various other good courses....with too little butter and too much spice".
6. _Ibid._, 67.

Similarly great material difference was reflected in the clothing of the ordinary people and members of the ruling class. Whether it was the peasantry, in the countryside, or the workmen, in the urban centres, they were able to earn so little that they could barely afford enough cloth to cover their private parts.[1] When English complain about the great difficulty which they experienced in selling their woollen cloth,[2] this may show a very low purchasing capacity of the mass of population. On the other hand, nobles and other rich men wore "Silk beeches ...... so long that they must be plated upon the leg ...." when it was cold, the rich wore very costly Cadeby - "Cloath of Gold, or other Rich stuff ....lined with sables which cost very dear".[3] When they came out of their houses they put on very fine Kashmiri woollen shawls, their turban was made from Bengal muslin, and their shoes were bordered with gold. "The Rich Banians cover the upper Leather of theirs with Velvet, Embrodered with great Flowers of Silk".[4]

The overall poor condition of the people was also reflected in their dwelling places. Small, single-storeyed, mud-walled and thatched houses without any ventilation, were

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1. Baburnama, tr. Beveridge, II, 519; Pelsaert, 61; Tavernier, I, 391; Letters, VI, 187.
2. Letters, VI, 200, 202.
3. Thevenot, 50-53.
4. Thevenot, 50-53.

all that the poor people could afford.[1] On the other hand, nobles constructed big palatial buildings for their residence. Agra surpassed Delhi in extent and multitude of big stone or burnt-brick houses of the nobles.[2] Pelsaert describing the houses of nobles says that, "their mahals are adorned internally with lascivious sensuality, wanton and reckless festivity, superfluous promp, inflated pride, and ornamental daintiness ......they have three or four wives ......(and) each wife has seperate apartments for herself and her slaves, of whom may be 10 or 20, or 100, according to her fortune".[3] These buildings were so big that gardens and tanks existed within their boundary walls.[4] Buildings belonging to merchants were also quite big, but smaller than those of nobles.[5] During the summer these palaces were fitted with <u>khas</u> curtains to give pleasant and cool air.[6] When these nobles were on the move they lived in extremely beautiful and costly tents "all

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1. Pelsaert, 61; Mundy, II, 73; Tavernier, I, 62; Thevenot, 49.
2. Bernier, 284.
3. Pelsaert, 64.
4. <u>Ibid</u>., 66, 64; Bernier, 285.
5. Bernier, 285.
6. Mundy, II, 191: "In Agra men of qualities in tyme of heat, have little roomes accommodated after that manner called Chusse Connaes (<u>Khas-Khana</u>), where they sitt coole, haveing also a great artificial fanne of linnen".

incompassed as orderly as any house".[1]

Mundy, has with the help of illustrations tried to explain the mode of transportation used by the women belonging to different strata of society. He says that the women of the "poorer sort" rode on oxen; while those of "the better fashion" on the horse-back.[2] The men of wealth used coaches drawn by oxen, which were carved and gilded with gold and covered with silk or fine linen.[3] They also used pallanken,[4] (palanquins), elephants[5] and camels.[6] When they went out, a whole caravan accompanied them comprising slaves, servants and other attendants.[7]

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1. T. Roe, Purchas, IV, 379.
2. Mundy, II, 192.
3. Mundy, II, 192; Fitch, Early Travels, 18.
4. Ibid., II, 189; Tavernier, I, 49.
5. Ibid., II, 190-91.
6. Ibid., II, 190.
7. Ibid., II, 190.

CHAPTER - IX

REVENUE GRANTS

It was a normal practice with the rulers of India to provide the means of subsistence, to certain people, out of the state exchequer. The Mughals continued the practice.[1] Such grants were made in the form of both cash and land, being known as *wazifa* and *madad-i ma'ash* respectively.[2] The term *sayurghal* was applied to grants of both kinds. The grants of land would seem to have been more convenient to both the parties, and so by far the larger number of recepients of state bounty received it in the shape of tax-free land grants in different localities. The word *sayurghal* became a synonym of *madad-i ma'ash*, the more commonly used term throughout the 17th century.[3]

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1. One of the earliest Mughal grants in *suba* Agra was awarded by a *farman* of Babur, 1527 A.D., on display Persian Nos. 3-6, in Maulana Azad Library, A.M.U., Aligarh. See *Tazkirat-ul Muttaqin*, II, 172, for a land grant in *sarkar* Kannauj of Islam Shah Sur (1548 A.D.). Also see Irfan Habib, 298.

2. *A'in*, I, 198-99; Moreland, *The Agrarian System.....*, 277; Irfan Habib, 313.

3. I have come across only one reference, other than Abul Fazl's, where the word *sayurghal* has been used. In this case, too, it was the assignment of revenue free land grant which was termed *sayurghal*. See Waris, 334, for the award of few villages in the vicinity of *haveli* Agra to one Hayat Khan.

The *A'in* specifies four categories of people who were thought deserving for the award of revenue grants: men of knowledge and learning; persons deeply involved in religious persuits; destitutes incapable of earning a livelihood; and persons of noble lineage who would not 'out of ignorance' take to any employment.[1] Then in the 'Description of the Twelve Subas' Abul Fazl has given *pargana*-wise statistics of such grants in *suba* Agra, as in other *subas*.[2] These figures represent the total revenue alienated; ~~and~~ but one cannot work out from them the category most favoured for the award of grants. Still the statistics are of considerable interest in themselves.

A number of questions arise on seeing these figures: Are these estimated or exact figures of revenue alienated? Can these be reconciled with Abul Fazl's statement that the minimum income per bigha, of such grants, was 40 dams?[3] And, finally, why these statistics are given in terms of *dams* and not *bighas* when the grants themselves were actually made in terms of *bighas*?

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1. *A'in*, I, 198-99.

2. I have checked Blochmann's text of the *A'in* here with the figures given in the Br.Mus. MSS. Add. 6552, ff. 185a-189b; Add. 7652, ff. 209b-214a (microfilms in the Library, Department of History, A.M.U.).

3. *A'in*, I, 199.

Immediately preceding the tables, the A'in gives the total figures of arazi (land), naqdi (cash revenue or jama'), sayurghal for the suba. Abul Fazl's language shows that the sayurghal figures were a part of the jama' figures.[1] This is corroborated by the fact that if sayurghal figures are deducted from the jama', the latter frequently assumes a round figure. This can be illustrated from some cases in suba Agra, which display rounding that could not have occurred with such frequency unless the net jama' was deliberately fixed in round figures.[2]

Sl.No.	Pargana A	Sarkar B	Naqdi C	Sayurghal D	C-D
1.	Bhosawar	Agra	55,05,460	2,55,460	52,50,000
2.	Majohar	"	16,84,023	43,023	16,46,000
3.	Wazirpur	"	20,08,255	8,255	20,00,000
4.	Hath	Kalpi	92,70,894	2,70,894	90,00,000
5.	Chhabramau	Kannauj	15,22,128	22,128	15,00,000
6.	Pati Lakhat	"	5,66,997	10,497	5,56,500
7.	Atrauli	Kol	54,54,459	54,459	54,00,000
8.	Tappal	"	18,02,571	2,571	18,00,000
9.	Khakes	Erachh	13,43,073	7,673	13,35,400
10.	Bahadurpur	Alwar	19,50,000	95,000	18,55,000
11.	Baroda - Fateh Khan	"	2,01,059	1,059	2,00,000
12.	Nimehra	Sahar	6,18,115	17,515	6,00,600

1. A'in, ed. Blochmann, I, 442.
2. Cf. Shireen Moosvi, 'Sayurghal Statistics in the A'in-i Akbari, an Analysis', I.H.R., Vol. II, No.2 (January 1976), pp. 282-98.
3. Fraction of dam have been found in parganas Muhammadabad (sarkar Kalpi), Barwar (sarkar Kannauj), and Jhimrawat (sarkar Tijarah).

On examining the pargana-level sayurghal statistics we find that they range from round to detailed figures. If these figures were rough estimates of revenue alienated one would not normally have expected such detailed figures. Also, since all the transactions were done in rupees, these figures should have been usually divisible by 40.[1] This too is very rare.

We know that during Akbar's reign all the land of the suba of Agra was measured and the jama' fixed, at least for those regions ~~from~~ to which major part of sayurghal statistic relate. We also know that sayurghal grants were assigned in cultivated and cultivable waste lands;[2] and that if cultivable waste land was not forthcoming and only cultivated land could be given, the total area of the grant was reduced by one-fourth.[3] This means that the authorities had to have precise knowledge about the extent of revenue-paying land actually transferred when a grant was demarcated on the land. This would have given them the means to calculate the exact

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1. During Akbar's reign 40 dams made a rupee.

2. Mun'im Khan's hukm, 1566 A.D., in original, in Library, Department of History, A.M.U., MSS. No. 36; Insha-i Har Karan, 36.

3. Ain, I, 199; Irfan Habib, 302-3.

revenue that was alienated through such grants. We also know that in 1578 Akbar had shifted the grant holders from lands scattered over different villages to certain selected villages professedly to save them from harassment by *jagirdars* and *zamindars*. For this measure a valuation of both the lands, the one being vacated and the other now being allotted was necessary in order to ensure that the substitution did not give too much (or too little) to the grantees. This might perhaps have led to the calculation of the exact figures of the revenue alienated at the time of this measure.

When Abul Fazl states that the income per *bigha* from a land revenue grant was not usually less than 40 *dams* he probably had in mind the fact that the grantees could extract from their land as much as would be taken in land-revenue. This can be illustrated from the *dastur*-rates of various crops which, in most cases, were fixed at a rate higher than 40 *dams* per *bigha*.[1]

Taking into consideration the totals of *jama'* and *suyurghal* figures for the *suba* we find that while the *jama'*

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1. For the *dastur*-rates see Chapter V.

of *suba* Agra constituted 10.324% only of the total *jama'* of the empire, the *sayurghal* granted within it amounted to 19.302% of that of the whole empire, c. 1595 A.D.[1] This shows that a very large portion of the revenue-grants was concentrated in Agra. At the same time if only *suba* figures are taken into consideration it would be found that *sayurghal* as percentage of *jama'* amounted to only 4% in Agra.

Wide variations are found in the *pargana*-level figures of *sayurghal* as % of *jama'* of the respective *parganas*.[2] Whereas the *sayurghal* in the *sarkar* in Tijara was only 4.06 of the *jama'*, *sayurghal* as % of *jama'* in *pargana* Santhavari reaches 65.60%, the highest for any *pargana* in *suba* Agra. This is an exceptional case; though at the same time it is difficult to explain such a high percentage of grant for an individual *pargana*. If we compare the absolute figure for sayurghal in this *pargana* with that of other *parganas* we find that it was not very high. Still larger amounts are shown against a large number of other *parganas*. It is under the *pargana haveli* Agra that the highest amount, viz., 88,94,454 *dams* is exhibited, this being 19.63% of the *jama'*

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1. I am indebted to Shireen Moosvi for letting me have her calculated *pargana*-wise *sayurghal* total for the empire.
2. See Appendix-I, for *sarkar*-wise percentage.

for the *pargana*. Similarly, at all *sarkar* head-quarters *sayurghal*, in absolute figures, is generally high, if not the highest for that particular *sarkar*. Some other *parganas* in a few *sarkars* have noticeably high figures (above 2,00,000 *dams*): in *sarkar* Agra: Hindaun, Bayana, Bhosawar, Khanwa, Fatehpur, Dholpur, Chanwar, Mahaban, and Jalesar; in *sarkar* Kol: Sikandra Rao, and Khurja; in *sarkar* Kalpi: Shahpur and Rath; and in *sarkar* Kanauj: Bilhaur.

Two plausible hypotheses can be offered for such high *sayurghal* figures in these *parganas*. One, that grantees were, generally, town-based people, and their grants were concentrated in and around towns, and thus the *sayurghal* tended to be high, in *parganas* which contained towns or larger town ships. Secondly, such *parganas* might have been important marts for agricultural products. Thus the whole of Bayana indigo tract records higher *sayurghal* figures. Similarly high returns are recorded for another important indigo tract, viz. Kol — Khurja.[1] Kalpi was famous for its candied sugar.[2] It could be that the grantees aspired to receive lands in areas where cash crops were being cultivated, so that the returns from their lands might be high.

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1. See Chapter on Agricultural and Non-Agricultural Production.
2. *A'in*, II, Nawal Kishore ed., 84-85.

Another aspect to consider is the relevance of particular zamindar caste to high or low sayurghal figures. Appendix-II gives the sayurghal as % of jama' in parganas held in zamindari by different castes, based on the A'in-i Akbari's own statistical tables.[1] For convenience of study they have been broadly categorised as: A—Non-Cultivating zamindar castes (Rajputs, Brahmins, Gouds, Kayasths etc.); B—Cultivating castes (Jats, Ahirs, Lodhas, Kumbis etc.); C—Muslims; and D—Others. Categories A, B and known non-Muslim zamindar castes of D have been consolidated in category E.[2]

In the sarkars of Narwar and Mandrael only Rajputs — belonging wholly to the Tomar and Jadon clans respectively — are recorded as zamindars; but no sayurghal is recorded in these two sarkars. These sarkars were deemed to be in the hands of tributory chiefs. In other sarkars, the parganas

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1. The percentage has been obtained by treating each pargana as a unit and then giving weight to it according to the jama' and sayurghal given in the A'in. In case a pargana has two or three zamindar castes recorded against it, each caste is assigned a proportionate share (one-half or one third) of both jama' and sayurghal.

2. See Appendix-II.

where Rajputs and other traditional zamindar castes are recorded as *zamindars*,[1] do not show on average as high a *sayurghal* figure as in *parganas* with Muslim *zamindaris* or with *zamindaris* belonging to the cultivating castes (see Appendix-II). Though in the *sarkars* of Agra and Kol, *parganas* with Rajputs and other *zamindars* may appear to return a comparatively high percentage, in these *sarkars* *parganas* with Muslim *zamindars* also return the same percentage; and in *sarkar* Agra such percentage in the *zamindaris* of traditional cultivating castes far exceed that returned, on average, by *parganas* with the non-cultivating and Muslim *zamindars*.

From Appendix-II it would become clear that wherever Muslims have been recorded as the *zamindar* castes *sayurghal* as percentage of *jama'* is substantial,[2] with the exception of the sarkars of Sarnol and Sahar.

It is interesting to note that in all those *sarkars* where the traditional cultivating castes have been recorded as *zamindars*, *sayurghal* as per cent of *jama'* is also substantial. In *sarkar* Agra it exceeds the percentages in *parganas*

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1. See my article 'Caste Composition of Zamindar-class......', *Indian Historical Revie*, Vol. II, Pt.I (1975), pp.47-67.
2. Shireen Moosvi, *op.cit.*, has also arrived at the same conclusion; but her Appendix-B, records a very high percentage against *sarkar* Kol (16.962), which in all probability is due to her putting the Bargujar Rajputs of Khurja and other *parganas* in the cateogory of Muslim *zamindars*, whereas they were converted to Islam well after Akbar. Lachhman Singh, *Tarikh-i Zila' Bulandshahr*, pp. 311-15.

under other categories of *zamindars*, twice or thrice over. In the *sarkars* of Kol, Alwar and Tijara these castes are recorded as *zamindars* in a comparatively few *parganas*, the percentage of *suyurghal* out of *jama'* in these is still high in comparison to others. In *sarkars* of Gwalior and Payanwan *suyurghal* as per cent of *jama'* is low in case of cultivating *zamindars*, but such is the case also with the other categories in these *sarkars*.

From this comparison, we can perhaps conclude that grants tended to be sought and given rather more often in areas with Muslim and cultivating-caste *zamindars* than in those with the traditional Rajput *zamindars*. Quite obviously, it must have been a consideration in the mind of every grantee how well he would be able to deal with the local *zamindar*. Since the grantees were mainly Muslims, a Muslim *zamindar* would have been more congenial to them; and, failing him, small or petty *zamindars* rather than powerful potentates of traditionally high status. But it is also clear that while such preferences operated, *suyurghal* land was given out everywhere whoever be the *zamindar*; and, perhaps, Akbar's measure concentrating grants in particular villages helped to protect the grantees to some extent from hostile *zamindars*.

The grants were awarded originally by the Emperor

through a *farman*. The Imperial Minister known as the *sadr-us sudur* was charged with the duty of looking after grants for the whole empire. His representative at the *suba* head-quarters was called *sadr* or *sadr-i juzv*. Under the *sadr* of the *suba* local jurisdictions were carved out under *mutavallis*.[1] The *suba* of Agra enjoyed a special position as it was the seat of the central government. It appears that no provincial *sadr* was appointed here, and the *sadr-us sudur* himself looked after the grants in the *suba*.[2]

The procedure of award of grants has been discussed in detail by Ibn Hasan.[3] Numerous *farmans* survive, through which the grant was originally made; a few of these are for grants made within *suba* Agra. The *farman* specified the area of the grant in *bigha-i Ilahi*, whether the land was from the cultivable waste or otherwise, the name of the grantee, whether the grant was to be enjoyed by the grantee only or his off spring also, the *pargana* and *sarkar* where the grant

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1. Ibn Hasan, pp. 254-89; Irfan Habib, 298-99.
2. Lahori, II, 365-66; when irregularities about the revenue-grants were brought to the notice of Shah Jahan, in 16 R.Y.; he passed certain orders, one of which laid down that the grantees residing in Agra and its suburbs should appear before the *sadr-us sudur*, which those of other *subas* were to appear before their respective *sadr-i juzv*. (Lahori, II, 365-66).
3. Ibn Hasan, 265-67.

was situated, and the crop-season from which the grant was to be effective; thereafter the *farman* directed the officers (*hakims*, *amils*, *jagirdars* and *karoris*) to demarcate the area and hand over the same to the grantee. The *farman* also specifically forbids the collection of any kind of taxes, cesses or other charges from the grantee.[1] At the same time a *sanad* was issued by the *sadr-us sudur* incorpating the same details as in the *farman*, and directing the *jagirdars* and the revenue officials of the *pargana* to demarcate the limits of the granted land.[2]

It was perhaps left to the subordinate officials of *jagirdars*, revenue collectors and the *mutawalli* of the *pargana* to finally demarcate the area (*chak*) in accordance with the *farman* and *sanad*, and then issue the *chaknama*, with their seals and with the signatures of witnesses, giving details of the exact location of the *chak*.[3] The local *jagirdar*, in whose jurisdiction the grant was assigned, finally

1. *Shamsabad Document* No. 20.

2. *Ibid.*, No. 46.

3. Original *chaknama* of village Vajihar, *pargana* Bhojpur (near Kanauj), 16th century, in the Department of History, A.M.U. (for text see Appendix-III); *Shamsabad Document* Nos. 7, 8, 9.

allotted the land in a particular village; and at the time of demarcation, the grantee or his representative (*wakil*) accompanied the demarcation staff. But before the actual demarcation was undertaken the consent of the owner/occupant (*malik*) of the land, was also obtained and the fact recorded in the *chaknama*.[1]

Sometimes the *jagirdars* assigned revenue grants on their own, and issued *parwana* for the same. The *sadr-us-sudur* had nothing to do with such grants, and, therefore, such grants were leviable to be terminated with the transfer of the *jagirdar*. Proceedure similar to the demarcation of the land of imperial grants was followed in such grants as well, and *chaknama* was issued to the grantee.[2]

Under Akbar the grant was subject to resumption after the death of the grantee.[3] Some *farmans*, as one by Jahangir included "the offspring" of the grantee as well;[4] and this phrase perhaps saved some, or whole of the land from resumption on the death of the original grantee. A grant was thus

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1. *Shamsabad Document*, No.9, belonging to 1094 A.H./15R.Y. of Aurangzeb.
2. *Ibid.*, No.8.
3. *A'in*, I, 287; Irfan Habib, 305.
4. *Shamsabad Document*, No. 20.

normally tenable for the life time of the grantee.[1] But in 1690 A.D. Aurangzeb made all the revenue grants hereditary, though they were still to be governed by imperial regulations and were on theory considered only an article of loan('ariiat).[2]

Madad-i ma'ash grants were thus not meant ordinarily to be hereditary before 1690, and were subject to renewal on the death of the original grantee. It was the prerogative of the emperor to resume any part of the grant or confirm it in its entirely on the descendants of the deceased grantee. Jahangir said that he confirmed all madad-i ma'ash grants awarded during Akbar's reign.[3] Before a renewal could be granted, 'heirs' of the deceased grantee had to petition the sadr. In this it used to be submitted that they were the real descendants and were in actual possession of the grant-land. The sadr verified the claim and endorsed the petition. The emperor confirmed the grant in full or reduced it. In suba Agra all known grants seem to have been confirmed on the 'heirs' in full. At the time of award and confirmation the emperor also fixed the shares of different grantees, or 'heirs', but in the latter case he did not usually increase either the original grant or the total share of descendants. Once a

1. Shamsabad Document, No. 46; this grant was made in 12 R.Y.
2. Irfan Habib, 306.
3. Tuzuk (tr.), I, 10.

person received an area of the grant in his share, the area confirmed upon his descendants did not also exceed this share. For each grant a chaknama was prepared which gave details of the share and location of the land of each share-holder.[1]

Akbar had made a rule not to assign a grant wholly in the cultivated land. Half the area of a fresh grant had to be in cultivable waste; but in case the whole was given out of cultivated land, the grant was reduced by one-fourth.[2] From the documents of the reigns of Jahangir and Aurangzeb it appears that generally the grants were made out of cultivable waste on which hitherto no tax had been levied.[3] Quite obviously this was to prevent any loss to tax-revenue of the jagirdar; but it might partly have been due to the desire to avoid disturbing peasants already cultivating the soil or, indeed, to a desire to extend cultivation.

Women recipients of madad-i ma'ash grants were, in all probability, covered by Abul Fazl's third category of beneficiaries,[4] but no separate department seems to have been established to enquire into the merits of their cases under

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1. See original chaknama in Appendix III; also see Shamsabad Doc. Nos. 8, 9.
2. A'in, I, 199; Irfan Habib, 302-03.
3. Shamsabad Document, Nos. 7, 8, 9, 20, 46; Nigarnama-i Munshi, 91.
4. A'in, I, 198-99: "Such as are weak and poor, and have no strength for acquiring knowledge".

Akbar. Jahangir, in the first year of his reign, entrusted the job to Haji Koka to recommend cases of deserving women.[1] Whether this arrangement terminated with the death of Haji Koka or continued thereafter is not known. A study of such grants shows that after the deaths of original grantees these were devided up among the female 'heirs' only.[2] The division was not necessarily into equal shares. Unluckily the surviving documents from one locality within the suba donot specify the exact relationships between the original, or earlier, grantees and their 'heirs'; and so from the details available it is not possible to work out the formula that was adopted for such distribution amongst the grantee's kinswomen.[3] This can be illustrated from the detailed study of a grant of 180 bighas by Jahangir.[4] He had made the grant on 2 Dimah of his 10th regnal year in favour of Musammat Bakhtu and others, in pargana Shamsabad, sarkar Kanauj. The original farman has not survived, nor any copy of it. But from two subsequent documents, both referring to this farman, it appears that this grant of 180 bighas was divided at some later

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1. Tuzuk, 21; Haji Koka was one of the foster sisters of Akbar.
2. Shamsabad Document, Nos. 7, 17, 29, 40.
3. Ibid., Nos. 11, 72.
4. See Appendix-IV.

stage into three portions: (1) 85 bighas divided up among four women with varying shares, (2) 75 bighas among three women, all of whom (assuming Jiu to be a misreading of Bakhtu in copy) also held identical shares in portion (1); and (3) 20 bighas, the residue held by grantee or grantees unknown to us. Portion (2) was held, in 1096 A.H. (1685 A.D.) by six women, each pair of them, being designated heirs of one of the three original grantees, but each of the women is assigned a different share. Portion (1) is described in Farrukh Siyar's reign (1129 A.H.), by a document in which there are again six women inheriting that portion from the same grantees. Two of these 'heirs' have the same names as in the document of 1685, relating to the other portion, but are designated 'heirs' of a different original grantee, and the sizes of their shares are also different. A seventh woman is called the heir of an original grantee, who had no share in portion (2). It would seem that the original grantees (at least, three of them) were either sisters or closely related, and that after their deaths, the land grant went on being confirmed among the women of their family. The exact basis of the selection of women 'heirs' for grant and of the different shares in it assigned to them donot unluckily appear from the documents as they stand. But it is remarkable that over a period of nearly one hundred years no diminution in the grants

seems to have occurred. Women heirs, however, also received share from the madad-i ma'ash grants of deceased male grantees.[1]

Two documents from Shamsabad give details of distribution of land held by male grantees.[2] While in one generation the distribution is into equal shares, in another generation it may be equal in one branch and unequal in another.[3] What prompted such divisions is again not clear and is difficult to work out. Some details of subsequent confirmations and divisions of shares are available about the family of one Shaikh Chand, son of Nur Muhammad. Shaikh Chand, 'with his offspring', received the madad-i ma'ash grant of 30 bighas in pargana Bilhaur, sarkar Kanauj in the 11th regnal year of Jahangir.[4] On his death it was confirmed in full on Muhammad Qutb Alam and others by Shah Jahan in 1043 A.H.(1633-34 A.D.),[5] and by Aurangzeb in 1086 A.H. (1675-76 A.D.).[6] By the time of Farrukh Siyar's reign, it had been divided into two portions. among four 'heirs' of Shaikh Chand. Portion (1), 15 bighas, going to Shaikh Abdullah and Mah Bibi, holding respectively

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1. Shamsabad Document, Nos. 16, 19.
2. See Appendix-V.
3. Ibid.
4. Shamsabad Document, Nos. 12, 20.
5. Ibid., No. 28.
6. Ibid., No. 25.

10 and 5 *bighas*, and portion (2), divided into shares of Abul Mukarim and Musammat Khubi, each holding 7.5 *bighas*. The division of portion (1) reflects the Muslim principle of division of patrimony between a brother and sister; but the equal shares given in portion (2) to a male and female 'heir' are difficult to understand. Perhaps here Aurangzeb's *farman* of 1690 A.D. operated, where the Muslim legal provisions for inheritance were replaced by other regulations for fixing the shares of women.[1]

From a *farman* of Shah Jahan it appears that some local officials, like the *qazi*, were assigned *madad-i ma'ash* grants in lieu of their services to the state. Such officials, generally, held their offices whole of their life time; their grants were located in the same area. Such grants were probably contingent upon their beneficiaries performing the duties of their office. It is interesting to find that in one case the original grant was increased from 30 to 100 *bighas* during the life time of the same person. While the grantee retained the entire 30 *bighas* of the original grant at its old place, the additional grant of 70 *bighas* was assigned in cultivable waste.[2]

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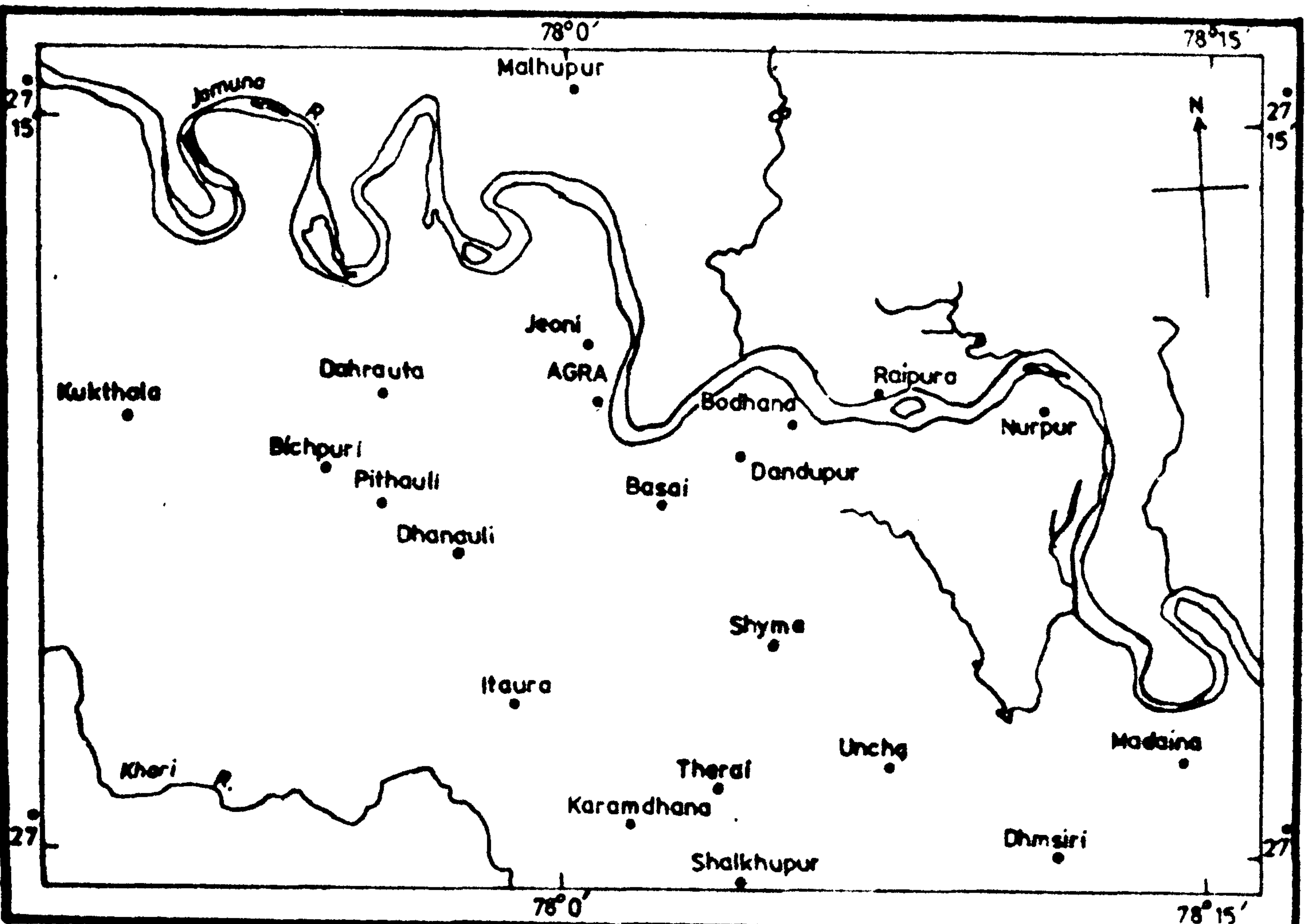
1. Allahabad, II, 53 & 56, as cited by Irfan Habib, 306 & n.
2. Original *farman* on display case, Persian No.30, in M.A. Library, A.M.U., Aligarh.

Revenue alienated to some institution, which could not be resumed or terminated, was known as *Waqf* (trust). This category of grant, though not specified in the *A'in*'s chapter on *sayurghal*, was meant for the maintenance of an institution, sustenance of its staff and for charitable purposes. It appears that servants attached to such institutions did not receive their remuneration in cash; instead they, alongwith their families, were assigned *madad-i ma'ash* grants, which, for all practical purposes, remained within the family from generation to generation.[1] Similarly, *mutawallis* (caretakers) of mosques also received land grants for the maintenance of the mosque and their families.[2] *Waqf* grants of the previous regime were also normally not disturbed and tended to be confirmed.[3]

In 1052 A.H. (1642-43 A.D.) Shah Jahan made a grant for the maintenance of Taj Mahal. A *Waqf* was created which

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1. *Tazkirat-ul Muttaqin*, II, 177-78.
2. *Ibid*, II, 179. The original grant was made by Jahangir's mother in 1617 A.D. In 1669 A.D. 'heirs' of the original grantee complained to the emperor that the *muqaddam* of the locality not only forcibly occupied 5 *bighas* of the grant, but had also fixed land revenue at the rate of Rs.3 per *bigha*. After verification land was restored to the 'heirs' and exemption from land revenue was granted; see *Ibid*., II, 180-81.
3. Such a grant was made by Islam Shah Sur, in 1548 A.D., which was confirmed by Akbar, in 1571 A.D., in full; *Ibid*., II, 177-78.


VILLAGES ASSIGNED TO THE WAQF OF TAJ MAHAL
MAP V
78°0'
78°15'
27 15
27
N
Jamuna R.
Malhupur
Jeoni
AGRA
Kukthala
Dahrauta
Bichpuri
Pithauli
Dhanauli
Bodhana
Raipura
Nurpur
Dandupur
Basai
Shyme
Itaura
Khari R.
Therai
Karamdhana
Shaikhupur
Uncha
Madaina
Dhmsiri
Faiz Habib

derived its estimated income of three lac rupees partly from the revenue of thirty villages situated in the _pargana_ of Agra,[1] and partly from the shops and _sarais_ of Agra.[2] A provision was made that in case the income from grant fell short of the requirements, the emperor, who himself was the _mutavalli_ of this _waqf_, was to be approached for further grants. An attempt has been made to plot the assigned villages on a map. It shows that these villages do not make a contiguous block either around Taj Mahal or elsewhere, instead they were widely scattered all over the _pargana_ of Agra, including the trans-Jamuna tract. Perhaps such villages were selected as could provide substantial revenues, whatever their location.

No _madad-i ma'ash_ grants to non-Muslims are known from our _suba_, though it to certain that from Akbar's time

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1. Lahori, II, 330-31. Though text says thirty villages, in the details of the village-wise _jama'_, assigned to the _waqf_, only twenty-nine villages are mentioned whose _jama'_ total falls short by 1,20,000 _dams_, which probably was the _jama_' of the thirtieth village missing in the text.

2. _Ibid_. Shops and _sarais_ were expected to yield an annual income of two lac rupees, and it was for the remaining amount of rupees one lac that thirty villages were attached to the _waqf_ of the Taj Mahal.

onwards, such grants must have existed. But a number of *farmans* and other documents in favour of the ancestors of Tikayat Maharaj of Mathura,[1] shed interesting light on benefits conferred on this Brahmin family. These grants were not called *sayurghal* or *madad-i ma'ash*, the words used being *ma'afi* (exemption from payment of taxes etc.) and *Khairat*[2] (charitable endowments).

A study of these documents shows that one Vithal Rai had constructed a *thakurdwara* (temple) and other establishments, and maintained a large herd of cows and oxen at Gokul (near Mathura). It appears that he was being harassed by the local revenue officials to pay taxes on them, and had some problem regarding grazing land also. He made a petition to Akbar, who, in 1581 A.D., issued an order that no one should prevent the cows and oxen of Vithal Rai from grazing in *khalsa* or *jagir* lands.[3] A similar order was issued by his mother a few months later.[4]

When, about 1593 A.D. Vithal Rai purchased some land

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1. K.M. Jhaveri, "*Imperial Farmans ....*", I-XIV.
2. *Ibid.*, see *Doc.* Nos. IV and VII for *ma'afi* and XIII for *Khairat*.
3. *Ibid.*, *Doc.* No. II.
4. *Ibid.*, *Doc.* No. III.

in Gokul and Jatipura (in Mathura), for purposes of the *thakurdvara*, he was exempted, in perpetuity, from paying land revenue and all sundry taxes.[1] Similar orders of exemption were issued by Shah Jahan.[2]

With another grant of 1593 A.D. Akbar bestowed the revenue of village Gokul, including income from the ferry, to Vithal Rai, in perpetuity, for the maintenance of the *thakurdvara*.[3] From the order it would appear as if Akbar had granted the revenue income of the entire village of Gokul to Vithal Rai, including the *muqaddami*. In the same document he orders the *jagirdars*, revenue officials and the *chaudharis* not to collect any kind of taxes from Vithal Rai. From two orders of Shah Jahan's reign we find that Vithal Rai was also sometimes earlier authorised to collect taxes from the Gokul market.[4]

Since the nature of grant to Vithal Rai was different from the *madad-i ma'ash* and *al-tamgha* we find that, in 1633, it was converted from *ma'afi* to *khairat*.[5] We donot come across

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1. K.M. Jhaveri, *Imperial Farmans..........*, IV.
2. *Ibid.*, VI-VIII.
3. *Ibid.*, V.
4. *Ibid.*, IX, X.
5. *Ibid.*, No. XIII.

any order during the reign of Aurangzeb, or his successors confirming the grant. But Shah Alam, in 1768 A.D., issued an order making the grant _al-tamgha_, while acknowledging that Gokul had remained in the possession of the descendants of Vithal Rai.[1]

Sometime Mughal officials, during service or on their retirement from public life, were favoured with a land grant, known as _al-tamgha_ grant or _al-tamgha jagir_. In such a case the entire revenue from the grant of land was alienated to the grantee. Unlike _madad-i ma'ash_, _al-tamgha_ needed no renewal or confirmation and was also not subject to resumption even on the death of the original grantee. It was, more or less, like a _watan-jagir_.[2] Also, unlike _madad-i ma'ash_ grants which were specified in terms of _gaz-i Ilahi_, the _al-tamgha_ recipients were assigned the entire revenue of one or more villages.[3] A grantee, or his descendants, practically enjoyed the rights of ownership on

1. K.M. Jhaveri, _Imperial Farman........_, IV; No. XIV.
2. _Tuzuk_ (tr.), I, 24.
3. _Ibid._, 326; Waris, 334; _Shamsabad Document_, No. 38.

al-tamgha land, and they could dispose of it according to their will.[1]

Wazifa (cash allowances) on a daily basis were called *Yaumiya*.[2] These were usually made charges upon the treasurer or officials collecting taxes in cash.[3]

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1. *Shamsabad Document*, Nos. 39, 47. The wife of Rashid Khan, the original grantee, made out a gift deed in favour of her daughter from her share of the land. Her son, later on, gave a deed of agreement.

2. *Ibid.* No.6.

3. Thus Shaikh Jalaluddin and Shaikh Fateh Ullah were granted three *tanka muradi* by Shah Jahan, in his 1st regnal year, from the collection of the Rajghat ferry of Kanauj; see *Shamsabad Document*, No. 6.

APPENDIX - I

Sl.No.	Sarkar	Sayurghal as % of jama'
1.	Agra	7.65
2.	Kalpi	2.09
3.	Kanauj	2.28
4.	Kol	3.30
5.	Gwalior	0.59
6.	Erachh	1.21
7.	Bayanwan	0.99
8.	Narwar	2.44
9.	Mandrael	NIL
10.	Alwar	1.75
11.	Tijara	4.06
12.	Narnol	1.52
13.	Sahar	1.86

APPENDIX - II

Sayurghal as % of jama' under the zamindaris of different castes, sarkar-wise

Sl.No.	Zamindar castes	Agra	Kalpi	Kanauj	Kol	Gwalior	Erachh	Bayan-wan	Narwar	Mand-rael	Alwar	Tij-ara	Nar-nol	Sahar
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
A.	Traditional Zamindar Castes:													
1.	Rajputs	5.38	1.38	1.99	3.87	0.72	0.33	1.52	2.24	NIL	0.21	-	0.27	0.88
2.	Brahmins	3.28	0.14	5.31	4.17	0.58	-	1.36	-	NIL			-	
3.	Gauds, Kayasths	-	-	-	-	-	2.05	3.29	-	NIL			-	
		5.10	1.31	2.00	3.87	0.68	1.14	1.61	2.24		0.21		0.27	0.83
B.	Traditional Cultivating castes entered as zamindars:													
1.	Jats	14.71	-	-	2.29	-	-	0.18	-	NIL	0.44	-	0.86	2.58
2.	Gujars, Ahirs, Kumbi	17.03	2.39	-	-	0.12	1.51	0.33	-	NIL	4.94	0.45	7.00	1.14
		15.75	2.39	-	2.29	0.12	1.51	0.29	-		1.59	0.45	3.53	2.07

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
C.	**Muslim zamindars:**													
1.	Saiyids	4.21	-	-	2.46	-	-	-	-	NIL	4.94	-	-	-
2.	Afghans	-	2.93	3.97	3.43	-	4.03	-	-	NIL	-	-	-	-
3.	Miscellaneous	6.37	2.43	5.52	3.62	-	-	-	-	NIL	2.42	4.37	0.66	1.80
		5.52	2.57	6.35	3.76	-	4.03	-	-		2.44	4.37	0.66	1.80
D.	**Others:**													
1.	Baqqals, Tathars etc.:	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	NIL	0.04	1.48	-	2.11
2.	Miscellaneous	-	4.19	-	-	-	-	-	-	NIL	-	-	-	-
3.	Unknown	6.06	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	NIL	-	-	-	-
		6.06	4.19	-	-	-	-	-	-		0.04	1.48	-	2.11
E.	**Total of Non-Muslims** A+B+D.	7.76	1.51	2.00	3.94	0.58	1.62	1.04	2.24	NIL	0.20	1.01	0.49	1.87

Appendix III

دلو سوم

ماحمد بیگ

شرق

جانب غرب

شرق غرب

دلو چهارم

قاضی راجو

الف بیگ

۱۰

شرق

جنوب

جانب شمال

شمال

غرب

کبالا

चकजमौ जीमीन मीगुजीत फरगनु अलीखन दर वजह मददी मस तकतोसरी सलह असरी कजी रजु व कजी नसुरलाह व कजी समसदी व कजी दउद व औलदी मरहुमी मगफुरी काजी छजु अज मौ॰ वजीहर तपौं सौसी इगल प्र॰ भोजपुर बर हुकुम परवनचे हजरती नवब नमदरी बररवुरदरी अज इबतदइ फ॰ खरीफ़ इनतील बौं इहीतमामु हिकुमती सरी मीर सहम बेगु सीकदरु व वीजरती पनही ख्वज मीरुज हसनु दीवनु व सदती व कुजती व अहली व चौधरीअनी व कनुगोअनी प्र॰ मजकुर चकबस्त सुदी अज मकबुज मजरु चरी सइ तीरनवो बीगहे ४९३।४ वीही

कीतौ अव्वली एकु सौ उनतलीस बीगहे सत बीसुरे
१३९।१२

पुरब व पछीम जी उरी इगीर गठे बरह ११)१२		उतर व दखीन जी उरी बरह १२)	
पुरब हद सरहद रह जीमीन मौ॰ मजकुर	पछीम जीमीन मौ॰ मजकुर खरु	जुनुब दरखत पीपल मुतसील मौ॰ मजकुर	सीमल दरखत पीपल सरहद जीमीन मौ॰ उबरीखैर

कीतौ दोमी दुइ सौ तीनी बीगहे बरह बीसुरे
२०३॥२

पुरब व पछीम जी उरी चौदह गठे इग्यरह १४)११		जुनुब जानीब सीमलु जी उरी चौदह १४)	
पुरब सरहद जीमीन मौ॰ कतरौली	पछीम चह मुतसील दरखत पीपल	जुनुब सरहद नरी जीमीन मौ॰ मजकुर	सीमलु सरहद मौ॰ मज[illegible]

कीतौ सेमी एकु सौ पन्च बीगहे
१०५

पुरब व पछीम जी उरी दस १०)		उतर व दखीन जी उरी दस गठे दस १०)१०	
पुरब सरहद जीमीन मौ॰ सीधौली	पछीम जीमीन मौ॰ मजकुर	जुनुब सरहद मौ॰ तुरुगुतपुर	सीमल सरहद जीमीन चकदोमी

कीतौ छहरम पैतलीस बीगहे दस बीसुरे
४५॥

पुरब व पछीम जी उरी सत ७)		जुनुब जनीब सुमलु जी उरी छीस गठे दस ६)१०	
पुरब रह पुरनपुर	पछीम जनु सरहद जीमी मौ॰ मजकुर	जुनुब सरहद जीमीन मौ॰ मजकुर	सुमलु सरहद मौ॰ मज[illegible]

[illegible]

Appendix III (ii)

[illegible]

APPENDIX - IV

1. Musammat Jama & others, 100 *bighas*, Aurangzeb Doc. 29.

- Mmt. Jama — 25 *bighas*
- Mmt. Manka — 20 *bighas*
- Mmt. Mahi — 15 *bighas*
- Mmt. Hafiza — 10 *bighas*
- Mmt. Banjo — 10 *bighas*
- Mmt. Saeeda — 10 *bighas*
- Mmt. Dulari — 10 *bighas*

* Division of shares during Aurangzeb's reign.

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2. Musammat Bakhtu & others, 180 *bighas*, Jahangir, Doc. 11,72

- Mmt. Bakhtu & others, Doc. 17,32 — 75 *bighas*
  - Mmt. Bakhtu — 30 *bighas*
    - Mmt. Fateh Khatun — 15 *bighas*
    - Mah Bibi — 15 *bighas*
  - Mmt. Khushhali — 25 *bighas*
    - Mmt. Shafia — 15 *bighas*
    - Mmt. Humayun — 10 *bighas*
  - Mmt. Daulat Khatun — 20 *bighas*
    - Bibi Jiu — 10 *bighas*
    - Bibi Roshan — 10 *bighas*
- Mmt. Bakhtu & others, Doc. 40. — 85 *bighas*
  - Mmt. Bakhtu — 30 *bighas*
    - Bibi Jiu — 15 *bighas*
    - Bibi Khuban — 15 *bighas*
  - Mmt. Khush-hali — 25 *bighas*
    - Bibi Labati(?) — 15 *bighas*
    - Bibi Anjanu (?) — 10 *bighas*
  - Mmt. Daulat Khatun — 20 *bighas*
    - Bibi Banjo — 10 *bighas*
    - Mah Bibi — 10 *bighas*
  - Mmt. Gaddhu — 10 *bighas*
    - Bibi Daulat — 10 *bighas*

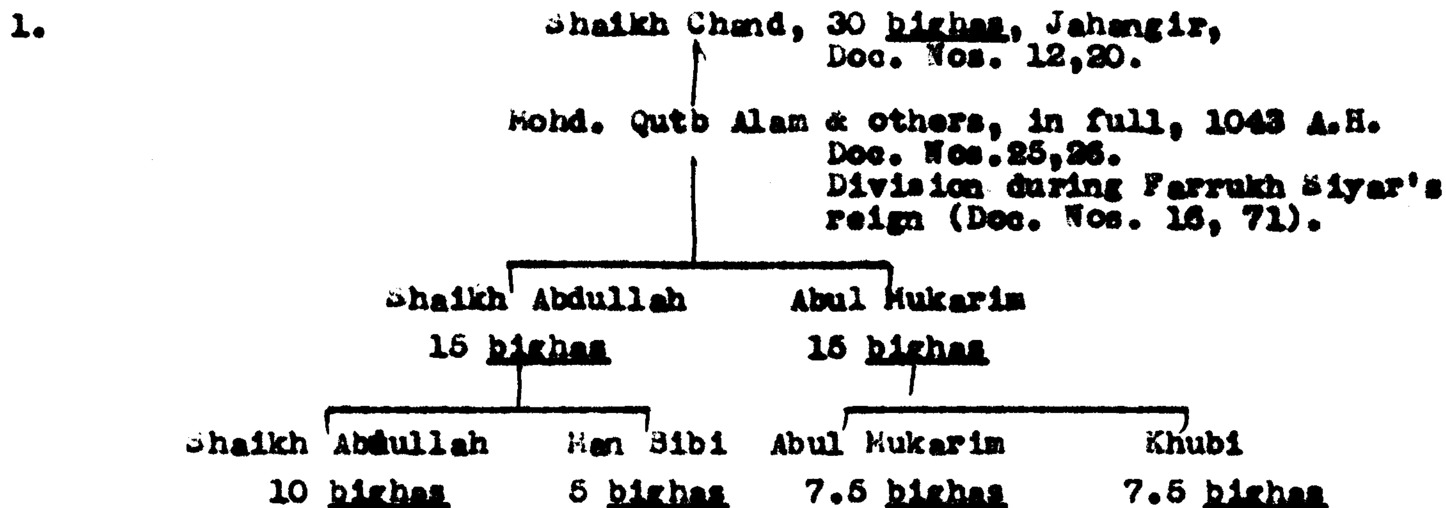
*:

i. Date of division of shares of 75 *bighas* not known; see Doc. Nos. 17, 32.

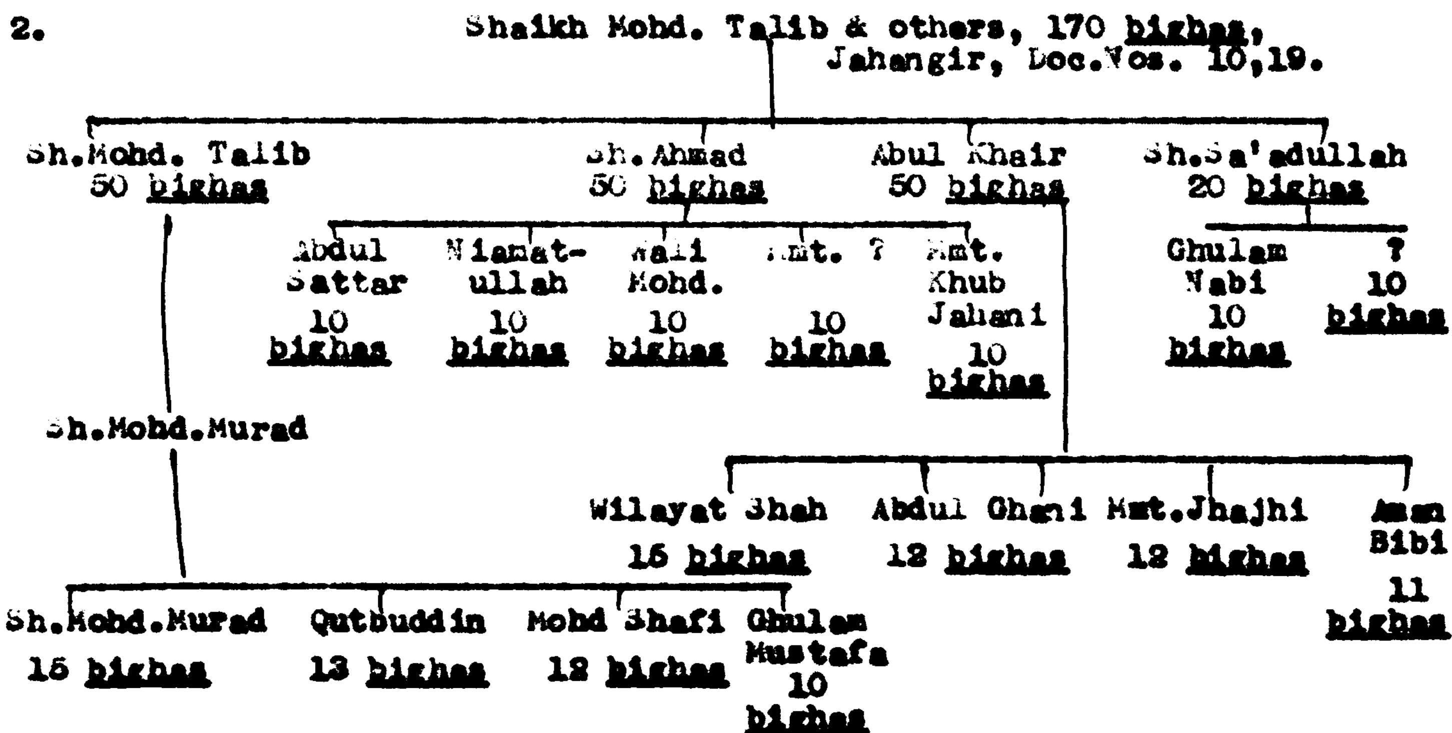
ii. Division of shares of 85 *bighas* took place during Farrukh Siyar's Reign, 1129 A.H.; see Doc. No. 40.

APPENDIX - V

1.



2.



* Date of division of shares not known; see Doc. No. 19.

CHAPTER - X

THE ZAMINDARS

1. *Zamindari Right*:

The term *zamindar* (or, to follow the *A'in-i Akbari*, *bumi*) is hard to define. What seems beyond dispute is that a right designated *zamindari* (often also called *milkiyat*) existed in practically every part of the Empire, and certainly of the *suba* of Agra. It also seems beyond question that it was a right held by superior classes, though in the case of certain categories of *zamindars*, especially of the pettier ones or these whom Professor Nurul Hasan felicitously calls 'primary *zamindars*'[1], the *zamindars* might have belonged to the upper strata of the peasantry.

There is no evidence from our *suba* indicating the actual relationship subsisting between the *zamindars* and the peasants. We do not know, in particular, what exactly was the share in the surplus that the *zamindars* derived in various locations.

Such documents as have come down to us pertain to the sales and transfers of *zamindaris*. These indicate that

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1. S. Nurul Hasan, 'Zamindars under the Mughals', *Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History*, ed. R.E. Frykenberg, London, 1969, pp. 17-31.

the *zamindari* right was regarded as fully alienable at the beginning of Mughal rule in the area. The earliest known sale-deed in our *suba* belongs to year 1530 for village Pipri Khurd, *pargana* Shamsabad (*sarkar* Kanauj). This sale-deed was referred to in several disputes at a later period,[1] and leaves us in no doubt that the sale of rights in land was a recognised practice. A few more sale-deeds for the same *pargana* have been preserved.[2] In all these transactions, the owner's share in the village is specified, but the exact measurement of the area of land involved is never stated. Thus though sale prices are also given they cannot be used to furnish us with the value of *zamindari* in terms of land sold per acre.

When such sales were of a share in the village the transfer included all immovable property that existed on the land thus sold, like tank, orcharls, wells etc.[3]

In all these sale documents the seals or signatures witnesses of the *qazi*, *qanungoes* were recorded, these testifying to the actuality of transfer.

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1. *Shamsabad Document*, Nos. 2, 3; Irfan Habib, *op.cit.*, 229, 330-32.
2. *Ibid.*, Nos. 4, 24, 27, 34. Two documents from Mathura also refer to purchase of land; see Jhaveri, Doc. Nos. IV & VI.
3. *Ibid.*, No.

Superior rights in land was hereditary and women also were entitled to their share in the land. Gifts could also be made. We find in a gift-deed details of the landed property which was gifted to the daughter by her mother, who had no other child.[1]

The fact that *zamindari* was regarded as fully an article of private property is shown not only by its being saleable and inheritable, but also by the fact that it could be mortgaged. A document of 1611 from Shamsabad refers to a village being mortgaged with a *banya* (*baqqal*), resident in another village. In this particular case the *maliks* or *zamindars* succeeded in redeeming it.[2] It is to be noted, however, that the *banyas* do not appear as a *zamindar* caste in Agra *suba*, except for a few *mahals*,[3] so that quite probably such mortgages to moneylenders was not a very general practice, contrary to the conditions witnessed in the 19th century.[4]

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1. *Shamsabad Document*, No. 39.

2. *Ibid*., No.

3. *Pargana* Imran, Bairat in *sarkar* Alwar.

4. See my article, 'Changes in the caste-composition of *zamindar* class in Western Uttar Pradesh, 1595-c. 1900', *Indian Historical Review*, Vol. II, No. 1 (1975), pp.47-67.

2. Caste Composition of the Zamindar Class in the Suba:

In spite of the zamindari right being fully alienable, its connection with castes and clans was a deep-rooted one, probably because historically it had arisen out of particular clans' occupying or dominating certain areas by force. Indeed, not only caste, but possession of armed power, was an inseparable feature of zamindari as an institution.

The A'in-i Akbari records the names of castes of zamindars for each pargana in the suba of Agra along with the numbers of their armed retainers (horse and foot).[1] Of the thirteen sarkars two entire sarkars, Narwar and Mandlaer were held by tributory chiefs. In a large number of parganas, belonging to the remaining sarkars, a single caste or clan has been recorded as zamindar. But this does not necessarily mean that those parganas were held in their entirely by that particular clan. It is generally believed that Abul Fazl has recorded the names of the dominant castes as zamindars against that pargana.[2] Against some parganas, one or more zamindar castes have been recorded, but they never exceed four. Some

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1. Irfan Habib, 'Zamindars in the 'A'in', Indian History Congress (Trivandrum), 1958, pp. 320-23.

2. See my article, 'Changes in the Caste-composition of the Zamindar Class in Western Uttar Pradesh, 1595-c. 1900', Indian Historical Review, Vol. II, No. 1(1975), pp.47-67.

times Abul Fazl has used the word *mutafarriqa* (miscellaneous), or has left the place blank. Perhaps, in the latter case he lacked information. What was the minimum revenue which qualified a caste to find a place in the *A'in* as *zamindar* of a *pargana* is difficult to ascertain. With a total *jama'* of less than 18,000 *dams*, two castes, Brahmans and Gujars are yet recorded against *pargana* Dhamla of *sarkar* Kalpi, which means that at least one of them paid revenue of less than 9,000 *dams*. In *pargana* Kalpi, on the other hand, with a *jama'* as high as 48,71,000 *dams* no caste is mentioned. It is also not certain whether any principle (e.g. alphabetical order, size of *jama'* imposed on each caste) was followed in the order in which the caste names are recorded against each *pargana*.

The Rajput *zamindars* were most predominant in the middle Doab, paying about 75% in revenue. In *sarkar* Irachh, they paid about 68.52%. These percentages have been calculated by assigning to the Rajputs the entire *jama'* of a *pargana* where they alone are recorded as *zamindars*, and by dividing the *jama'* into equal parts by the number of castes recorded wherever more than one caste is recorded. The Rajputs' share of the total revenue of other *sarkars* was less than half. In Payanwan it

was 32%, in Alwar about 17%, in Narnaul about 48%, and in Sahar about 21%. In the sarkar of Tijara Rajputs are not recorded as zamindars at all. In the entire suba their share based on the jama', stood at about 58%.

The Brahmans also held extensive zamindaris, though their share was not as substantial as that of the Rajputs. Of the total jama' of the different sarkars the Brahmans' share was in Agra, 8.57%; in Kalpi, 2.91%; in Kanauj, 0.42%; in Kol, 2.70%; in Gwalior, 19.98%; and in Payanwan, 10.82%. Elsewhere Brahmans were not entered among the zamindar castes. It is interesting to note that the Brahman zamindars are recorded in only those sarkars, where the Rajputs were the dominant zamindar caste.

The Jats are not entered as zamindar caste in most sarkars. Their share of zamindari in the entire suba was only 8.47% of the total jama'. Their share in the totals of the different sarkars was as follows: Agra, 13.39%; Kol, 1.12%; Gwalior, 16.53%; Payanwan, 14.86%; Alwar, 1.68%; Narnaul, 19.79%; and Sahar, 33.58%. Another important cultivating caste, recorded as zamindar in the A'in is that of the Gujars. Their share of the total revenue in sarkar Gwalior was 0.71%; Payanwan, 13.21%; Alwar, 0.88%; Tijara, 4.34%; Narnaul, 2.79%; and Sahar 10.52%.

Amongst the Muslims the *zamindaris* of the Afghans and Shaikhzadas were the most widespread. The Afghans are entered as *zamindars* in the sarkars of Kalpi (9.19%), Kanauj (1.66%), Kol (14.16%), Erachh (3.36%), and Narnaul (2.78%). The *zamindaris* of Shaikhzadas were recorded in the *sarkar* of Agra (2.11%), Kalpi (3.51%), Kanauj (1.66%), and Kol (1.69%). In the *sarkar* of Alwar the Khanzadas and Meos shared amongst themselves 55.42% of the total *jama'* of the *sarkar*, their individual shares being 30.42% and 25% respectively. Similarly, in *sarkar* Tijara they paid more than nine-tenths of the total for the *sarkar*, the Khanzadas, 42.53% and the Meos, 48.02%.

The Gonds, an aboriginal tribe of central India, were at some time independent rulers of the Gondwana territory. They were reduced by the armies of Akbar around 1564 A.D.[1] In the *A'in* they are returned as *zamindars* in the *parganas* of Khatolah and Kanti in *sarkar* Erachh and *pargana* Ativan in *sarkar* Payanvan. Their share stood at 8.59% in *sarkar* Erachh and 0.84% in *sarkar* Payanvan.

Various other castes were recorded as *zamindars* in the *A'in*, such as the Lodhas, Ahirs, Baqqals (*banyas*), Malikzadas

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1. V.A. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mughal*, 1926, p. 69.

and Saiyids, but their shares were very small and they were not as widespread. Tables- I and II, at the end of the Chapter, provide percentages of *zamindari* possessions of the various clans of the Rajputs, as well as of the other castes and communities.

In order to determine how far the *zamindaris* originated from upper peasants turning into superior right-holders,[1] it is interesting to classify the *zamindar* castes according to their traditional status as cultivating and non-cultivating. The following lists would perhaps accord well with existing tradition:

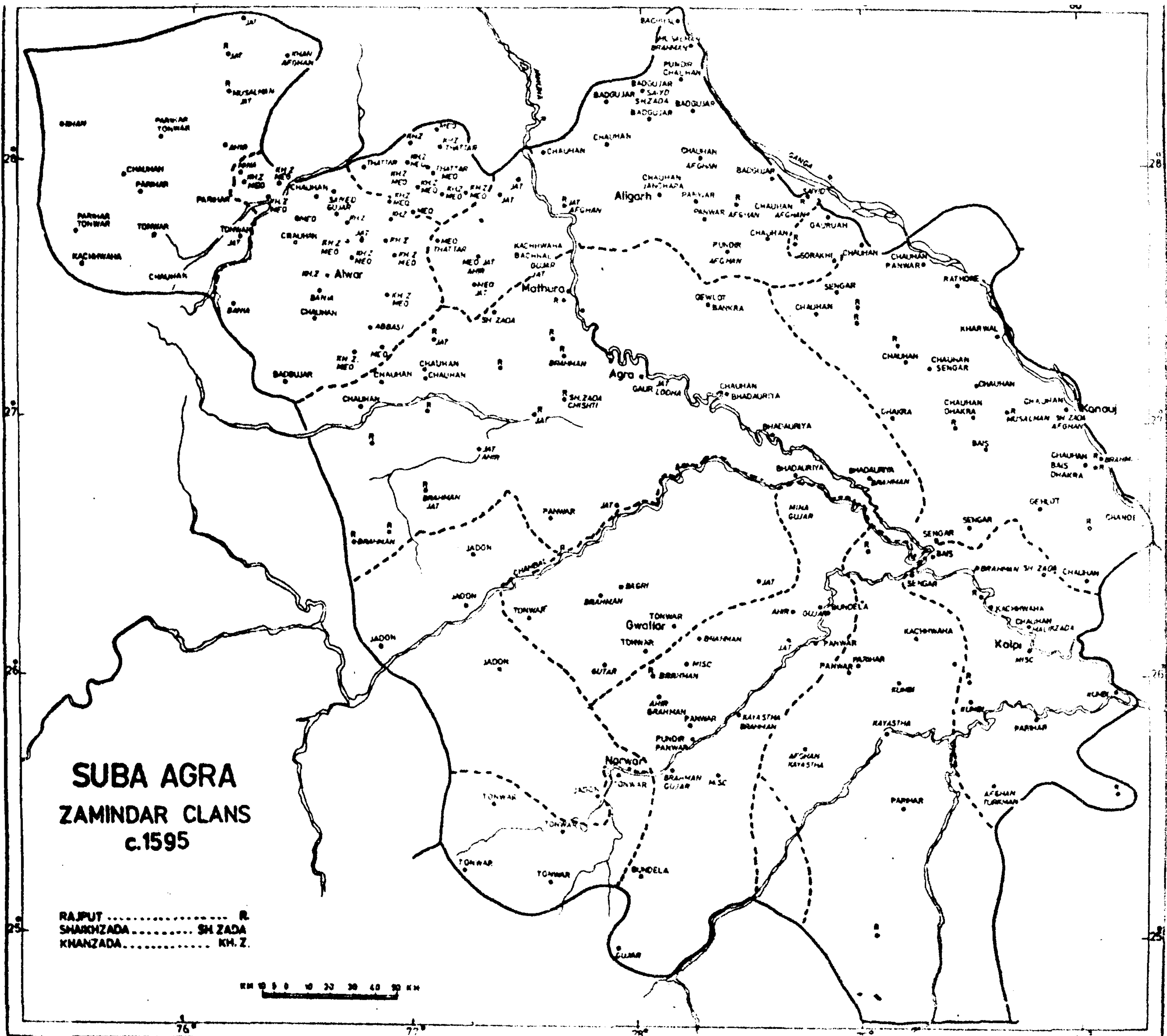
Cultivating Castes	Non-Cultivating Castes
Ahir	Abbasi
Gujar	Afghan
Jat	Baqqal
Kumbi	Brahman
Lodha	Gond
Meo	Kayastha
Mina	Khanzadah
Musalman	Malikzadah
	Rajput
	Saiyid
	Shaikhzadah
	Thattar
	Turkman

In Table-III the percentage of the total *jama*' for both cultivating and non-cultivating castes, in each *sarkar*

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1. 'Primary zamindars' as defined by Professor S. Nurul Hasan, 'Zamindars under the Mughals' *Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History*, ed. R.E.Frykenberg, London, 1969, pp. 17-31.

MAP VI



SUBA AGRA
ZAMINDAR CLANS
c.1595
RAJPUT .... R.
SHAIKHZADA .... SH.ZADA
KHANZADA .... KH. Z.
KM 10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 KM
Aligarh
Mathura
Agra
Alwar
Gwalior
Narwar
Kalpi
Kanauj

has been tabulated. If we consider the percentage of revenue paid by the traditional cultivating castes we find that they paid only about 21% of the total revenue of the *suba*, whereas those that are not held to be cultivating castes accounted for over 77% of the revenue.

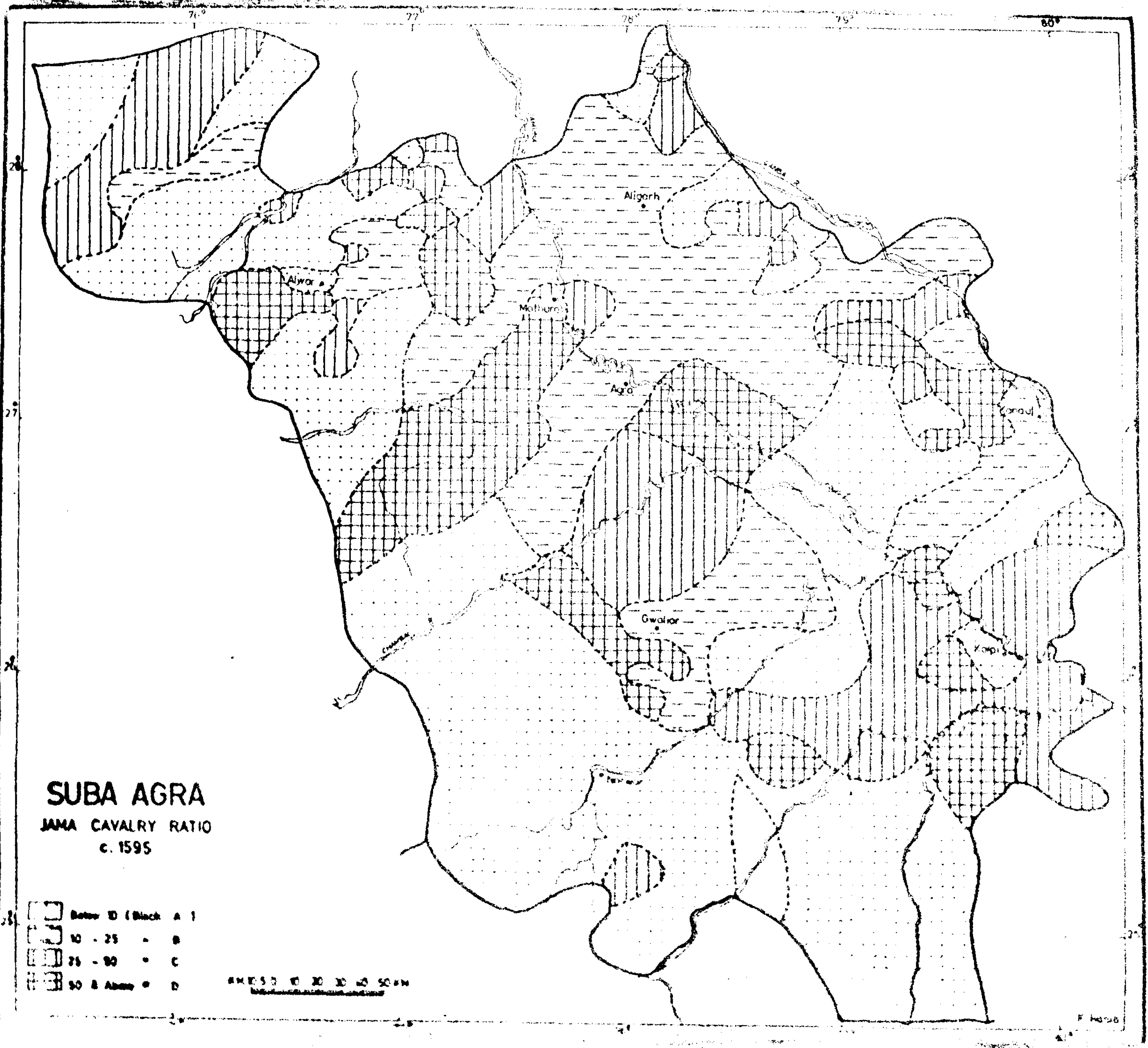
It is interesting to note that those *sarkars* which recorded the higher percentage for traditional cultivating castes were generally the areas where the Mughal administration faced considerable disorders during the 17th century (e.g. *sarkars* Mathura (Sahar), Agra, and Kol.

In all 27 Rajput clans are recorded as *zamindars* in the *A'in* in the various *parganas* of the *suba*. Most clans are found in particular blocks —— the Badgujars in the north of *sarkar* Kol; Sengars to the south of Kanauj and north of Kalpi; Bhadauriyas along the Yamuna, in *parganas* Hatkant and Etavah; Chauhans along the Yamuna and western parts of the *sarkar* Agra, in some western and eastern *parganas* of *sarkar* Kol, as also in large number of *parganas* of *sarkar* Kanauj; the Parihars in *sarkar* Narnaul; and so on. The Chauhan *zamindaris* are most

1. See Map facing page ....., for clan-wise *zamindari* possessions, c. 1595. The out lines of maps are based on Irfan Habib's 'Atlas' (in the Press), sheet no. 8A.

widespread, and their share too is the highest — about 21% of the share of the Rajput clans, and about 12% of the total. Chauhan *zamindaris* were concentrated in the northern half of the *suba*, with the main concentration in the middle Doab. The Tonwars, who held a whole *sarkar* (Narwar) trail far behind the Chauhans; they paid about 8% of the total revenue paid by the Rajputs as a whole, and about 5% of the *suba* total. Other prominent Rajput clans, from the point of view of their share in the *jama'* of the *suba*, were the Gaur, Kachhwaha, Sakarwal, Sengar, Bargujar, and Parihar. They paid only a little over 3% of the total revenue paid by the Rajputs as a whole. Their share in the *suba* total was still less.

In the 'Account of the Twelve *Subas*', the *A'in* also gives the strength of the cavalry and infantry maintained by the *zamindars* of the respective *parganas*. We can divide the *jama'* of each *pargana* by the numbers, respectively, of infantry and cavalry. This will enable us to see which *zamindar* castes, if any, were maintaining a large body of retainers in proportion to the *jama'*. Table-IV sets out the *jama'* per horse and per foot of the *zamindar* according to caste. In this tabulation only those *parganas* have been included against which a single caste has been entered. From amongst the Rajputs the average of *dams* per horse in the *sarkars* of Agra, Kalpi, and Kanauj is much higher than in the remaining *sarkars*. For the foot-retainers



MAP VII
SUBA AGRA
JAMA CAVALRY RATIO
c. 1595
Below 10 (Block A)
10 - 25 " B
25 - 50 " C
50 & Above " D
Aligarh
Mathura
Agra
Alwar
Gwalior
Kalpi
F. Hasan
76°
77°
78°
79°
80°
28°
27°
26°
25°

of the Rajputs, the average of dams per foot in the sarkar of Agra, is the highest. We find that neither in the case of the same caste in different sarkars, nor in the same sarkar for different castes is this average the same. There are wide differences which are difficult to explain. It is possible that the zamindars were free to maintain the strength of their contingents at their will, though why the Mughal administration would give them such latitude is not clear.

If one looks beyond caste so as to consider localities, a more coherent picture seems to emerge. The ratios between jama' and sawar (cavalry) is calculated, and the figures thus obtained for each parganas have been plotted on the map of the suba (thousands eliminated). The parganas are grouped in four blocks — Block A representing the lowest ratio, viz. less than 10, B for 10 to 25, C for 25 to 50, and Block D representing 50 and above. We now find that Block A almost covers almost the entire southern and western portions of the suba, comprising the less productive areas and held largely by chiefs. But even in the interior the suba big and small blocks of A are found; and in this way Blocks of A cover a very large part of the suba. Now, the low ratio represented might be due to either of two factors; First, a low jama' figure for areas where the Mughal land-revenue system was not strictly followed owing to control of the territories by the chiefs. At the same time,

the chiefs, especially, if they were mansabdars, were likely to maintain large contingents of cavalry. In the pargana of Jhunjunan, sarkar Narnaul, the Qayam Khanis maintained 2,000 horsemen; in parganas Etawah and Hatkant, sarkar Agra, the Bhadauriya Rajputs had 3,000 and 2,000 horsemen; sarkars of Narwar, watan-jagir of the Narwari rajas and Mandlaer, probably under a chieftain, record the strength of their cavalry at 500 and 4,000. The chiefs of these localities were regular mansabdars in the imperial service,[1] who were required to serve the Mughal forces with their cavalry.

The other factor for creating Block A in the areas under close control might well be that here, though the jama' remained high owing to the high degree of revenue realization the Mughal government was able to insist, for the very reason of its authority, that the zamindars should maintain large numbers of horsemen, for aiding the administration whenever the need arose. This probably explains most of the 'A' Block in the Doab.

One can follow the same reasoning to explain the areas falling under Block B, and to some extent Block C. These blocks cover the areas where the census of zamindars' retainers was,

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1. Similar details of other territories, in block A, are not available.

more or less, accurate. There are again *parganas* where the absolute figures for cavalry are small, and so we have some 'D' Blocks in the Doab as well. But significantly most of the 'C' and 'D' Blocks lie between the chiefs' zones and the Doab, where the *jama'* was high, but the administration was not able to compel *zamindars* to maintain (or report) large cavalry troops. The Bayana Indigo Tract almost entirely falls in the 'D' zone.

The total strength of cavalry in our *suba* stood at 51,233[1] which made the *suba* the third in rank in the Empire, its figure being exceeded only by Ajmer[2] and Lahore.[3] This again suggests that the Mughal administration by no means attempted to disarm the *zamindars*. On the other hand, it sought to utilise their troops (cavalry and infantry) and even recruit them into the Mughal army, as witness Jahangir's instructions to Bharichand, the *qanungo* of *sarkar* Agra, to collect 1,000 foot soldiers from the *zamindars* and send them to the Deccan.[4] Abul Fazl's anxiety to have full record of their retainers therefore becomes explicable.

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1. It is the *pargana* total of the cavalry, the stated *sarkar* total of the *A'in* stood at 50,661.

2. *Tuzuk*, 168, records the strength of cavalry from the *suba* of Ajmer as 86,000, which seems to have been picked up from the *A'in*'s figures, 86,500 (*A'in* (tr.), II, 277).

3. The strength of *suba* of Lahore is stated as 54,480 (*A'in*, tr. II, 319).

4. *Tuzuk*, 76.

Some of the *zamindars* of the Agra *suba* served the Mughals with their contingents as *mansabdars*.[1] The imperial administration also requisitioned troops from *zamindars* who were not in such regular exployment.[2] But we have no information about the money paid to the requisitioned contingent, and the mode of payment.

3. *Leading Clans and Castes*:

There are a large number of references to *zamindars*, recognised as *rajas*, who held *mansabs* and were appointed to administrative and military posts,[3] such as *faujdar* or *qila'dar*, or who were assigned to some military expedition. *Mansabs* were generally granted to large *zamindars* or chiefs. It is interesting that the Rajput *zamindars* of the middle Doab, including the Chauhans who paid the highest percentage of the total revenue for the *suba*, are missing from lists of *mansabdars*, except for Anup Singh (Anirai Singh Dalan) of

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1. See *Dutch Chronicle*, 68; Lahori, I i, 340-41; II, 261-78, 483-86; *Ma'asir-i Alamgiri*, 350 &c.; *Akhbarat*, 14 Ramzan, 13 R.Y.; 28 Shawwal, 38 R.Y.; 2 Shawwal, 40 R.Y.; 1 Z'qad, 40 R.Y.; 7 Safar, 44 R.Y.; &c.

2. *Tuzuk*, Sir Saiyid Ahmad ed., p. 76.

3. To cite a few examples, see Lahori, I i, 369, for Raja Bithaldas who served as *qila'dar* of Ranthambhore. The The Bhadauriya *rajas* sent their men to guard the Agra fort (*Zakhirat-ul Khawanin*, Aligarh MSS. f. 108a; this information is not available in the printed text published from Karachi).

Anupshahr. This may indicate that the revenue share of individual Rajput *zamindars* might not have been substantial. But the Bhadauriyas held *mansabs*, though as *zamindars* of *parganas* Hatkant and Etawah they paid only 1.23% of the total revenue of the *suba*. It would appear that the Mughals ordinarily recognised only the hereditary *rajas* and awarded them *mansabs*; but they did not bestow the title of *raja* on any one who had no hereditary claim inspite of some castes' possessing considerable resources.[1]

Bundelas:

Of such zamindars, the Bundela Rajputs, attained the most prominent position in the Mughal nobility. The Bundelas held some *zamindaris* in the *subas* of Agra and Malwa;[2] and the

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1. Though descendents of Raja Madhukar Bundela were recognised as holders of the title of *raja*, Champat, or his son Chhatrasal, who had no ancestral claim to the title, could not get this recognition, though for some time they wielded great power and were a source of harassment to the Mughals. Similarly, in the second half of the 17th century though the Jats, in the trans-Yamuna region, increased their power, they could not even get into imperial service (see the list of *mansabdars* given by M. Athar Ali, *The Mughal Nobility*......, 112-35, 175-271, where no Jat as a mansabdar is mentioned).

2. These *parganas* were Parmehh, Badnum and Khand Bajrah buzurg, in *sarkar* Payanvan of suba Agra, and *parganas* Eran and Barah in *sarkar* Chanderi of suba Malwa; see *A'in*, Nawal Kishore ed., II, 90, 97.

Bundela chief Madhukar Sah held Orchha as an independent principality towards the last quarter of the 16th century. But the Bundelas could not find a place in the Mughal nobility during this period.

According to their tradition the Bundelas established their rule, in the Bundelkhand region, in the 13th century when Chandel power was in the process of decline. They ruled over this region till about 1531 A.D., when their capital was shifted to Orchha.[1] Though they claimed to have ruled for over two centuries, their zamindaris were recorded in the A'in only against five parganas whose total jama' was 11,29,636 dams. Orchha was, in all likelihood, a tributary territory though it does not find a place in the lists of mahals in the A'in.

Towards the last quarter of the 16th century, after a few encounters,[2] Akbar's forces were able to crush the power of Madhukar Sah of Orchha. After his death in 1592, his eldest son, Ram Chandra (Ram Sah), joined imperial service.[3] Bir Singh Deo, another son, however, remained hostile, and when Prince Salim at Allahabad began to challenge the authority of his

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1. B.D. Gupta, Maharaja Chhatrasal Bundela, 19-20.
2. For these encounters see Akbar Nama, III, 77, 209-10, 228-30, 261, 526; Badaoni, II, 374-75.
3. Akbar Nama, III, 628, 750. According to Tazkirat al-Umara, Br. Mus. Add. 16703, f. 151a, Ram Chandra was awarded a mansab of 500.

father, Birsingh Deo earned notriety by murdering Abul Fazl in 1602, at his behest.[1]

Jahangir's reign witnessed a new relationship of the Court with the Bundelas. The faction led by Ram Chandra and others was now naturally out of favour.[2] On the other hand, Birsing Deo attained the high mansab of 5,000/5,000, which was awarded to only four Hindu nobles out of a total of 16 mansabdars of this rank during this reign.[3] Also, he was one of the five mansabdars who held the rank of 5,000 sawar. The title of 'Maharaja' was bestowed on him in 1622-23.[4] This rank no other Bundela, or for that matter any other Rajput chief of our suba, was able to get during the 17th century.

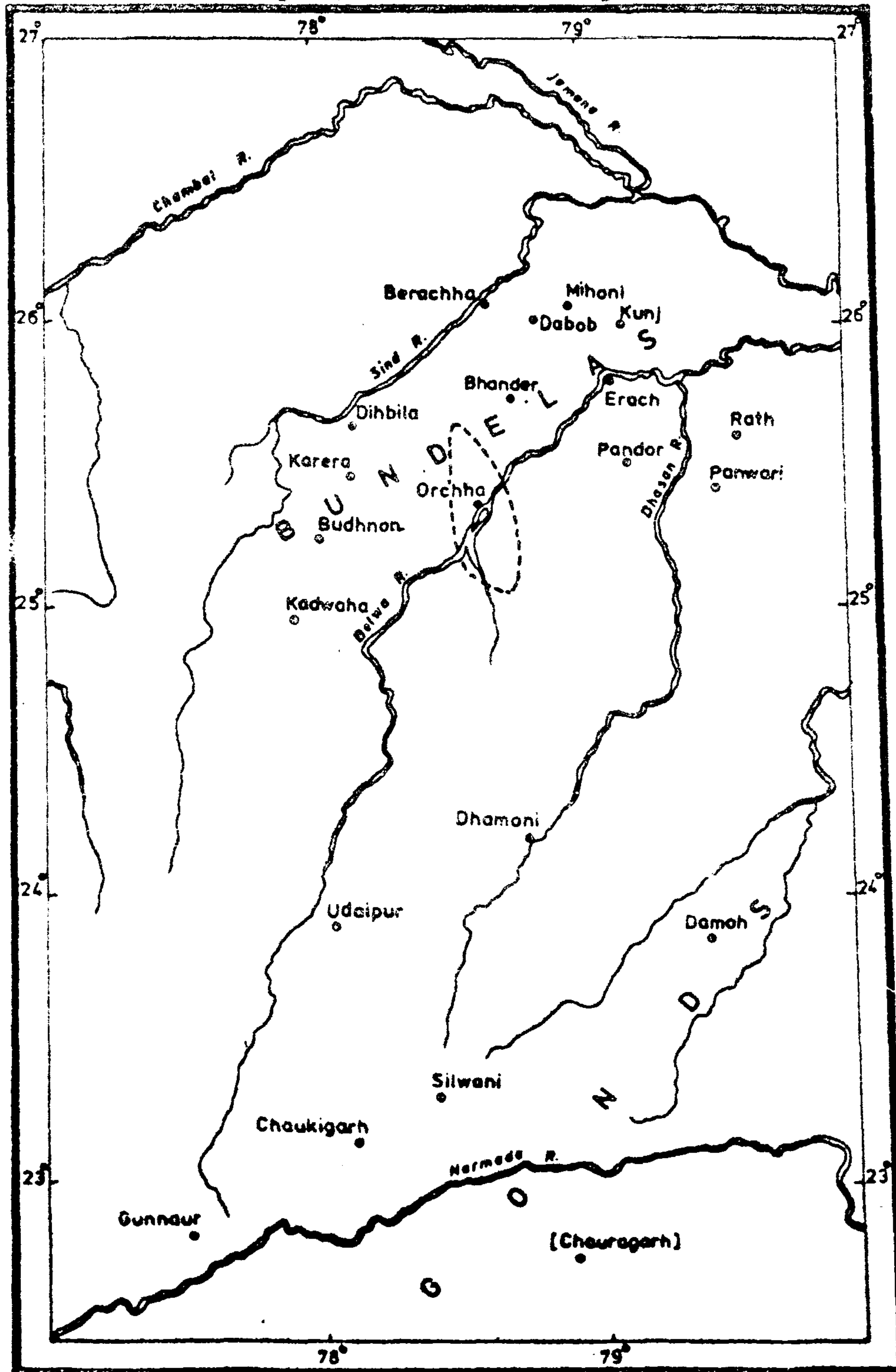
A list of parganas and territories which were in the possession of Birsingh Deo, presumably both in zamindari and jagir, is given in the Munhta Nainsi's Khyat.[5] Nainse has

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1. Tuzuk, Sir Saiyid Ahmad ed., pp. 10-11; Zakhirat-ul Khawanin, Habibganj Collection, A.M.U., f. 128a.
2. Ibid., 53, 77.
3. Ibid., 306. Other Panjhazari Hindu mansabdars were Mirza Raja Bhan Singh (5,000/3,000), Raja Jagannath (5,000/3,000), and Kunwar Karan s.o. Rana Amar Singh (5,000/5,000).
4. Tuzuk, 356.
5. Munhata Naimsiri Khyat, I, Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur, 1960, pp. 127-128.

MAP VIII

BUNDELA TERRITORIES
Illustrating expension under Birsingh Deo



also given the _jama'_ for these _parganas_. The total comes to 15,28,00,000 _dams_[1] which is substantially higher than the _jama'_ recorded for the same _parganas_ of the _A'in_

We know that Birsingh Deo had reached the _mansab_ of 5,000/5,000 by 1619-20. His pay claim against this _mansab_ would have come to no more than 5,34,00,000 _dams_.[2] In other words, his income from these _parganas_ was almost three times his salary claim.

An attempt has been made to locate these places on a map so as to give an idea of the extensive possessions of Birsingh Deo in Central India. The map shows that he had control over large areas of the _sarkars_ of Payanwan and Erachh in the north and deep into the Gondwana region of Malwa in the south. It would be difficult to work out the areas which were assigned to him as _jagir_ in lieu of his _mansab_. One can only make the suggestion that the _jama'_ which

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1. Nainsi has given the _jama'_ figures in rupees.

2. According to Irfan Habib, 'The Mansab System, 1595-1637', _Indian History Congress_ (1967), Patiala Session, pp. 228-49, substantial reductions in the salary against _zat_ ranks were made between 1618 and 1630. Since these reductions are not known I have calculated salary claims against _zat_ rank of 5,000 at the rate of Rs.30,000 (12,00,000 _dams_) per month which would be on the higher side. Irfan Habib further suggests that pay on _sawar_ rank was reduced from 9,600 _dams_ to 8,800 _dams_ per _sawar_ in 1615 or 1616; therefore salary claim against 5,000 _sawar_ rank has been calculated at the rate of 8,800 _dams_ per _sawar_.

exceeded his salary claim came from those places which he had acquired at the expense of the Gond chifs or zamindars. The silence of the sources over his expansion into the Gondvana region suggests that Jahangir held out no objection to this territorial expansion by his favourite.

Birsingh Deo died in 1627, to be succeeded by his son Jujhar Singh. Shah Jahan, after his accession, awarded Jujhar Singh a mansab of 4,000/4,000.[1] But he was soon alarmed at Jujhar Singh's activities. Jujhar Singh, with a well equipped force and hoard of treasure[2] at his disposal continued with the ambitious project of his father by expanding into the Gondvana region.[3] This would have given him effective control over the route to the Deccan through central India.[4] But Jujhar Singh found himself in a weak position against the Mughals who were joined by his arch-enemy and rival claimant ofthe Orchha gaddi, Bharat, the grandson of Ram Chandra. Jujhar Singh sued ~~used~~ for peace, and his mansab was restored.[5]

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1. Lahori, Badshah Nama, Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1868, I, 182.
2. Zakhirat-al Khawanin, ff. 128a-129b; the writer, Shaikh Farid Bhakhari, had visited his place, according to him Jujhar Singh a had a standing army of 12,000 horse and 50,000 foot-soldier.
3. Ibid. For details see B.P. Saxena, History of Shah Jahan of Dihli, 1962, 80-89.
4. It may be noted that Shah Jahan Launched his Deccan compaigns in 1636, only after he had firmly dealt with the turbulent Bundelas.
5. Lahori, I, 253.

Shah Jahan not only recognised Jujhar Singh as the Raja of Orchha, but also increased his *mansab* to 5000/5000 at the time of his posting to the Deccan in[1]

Jujhar Singh, however, could not give up the traditional ambitions of the Bundelas. His seizure of the Gond capital of Chauragarh and defiance of imperial orders to disgorge his gains, involved him in a fatal struggle with the Mughals. He was killed along with his eldest son Vikramajit.[2] Though Champat Rai took up the cause of Jujhar Singh's family, he could not make any headway. Devi Singh, son of Bharat, was rewarded with the title of Raja and the *watan* of Orchha.[3] Thus territory passed into the hands of Ram Chandra's family, from whose hands Jahangir had taken it to give to his favourite Birsing Deo.

During the war which Jujhar Singh had with the imperial army we do not find Birsingh Deo's other sons with Jujhar Singh. From the *Zakhirat-al Khavanin*[4] it would appear that Jujhar Singh was trying to get rid of his close relations so that he could remove all possible rivals to his own line. It is perhaps due to this reason that his

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1. Lahori, I, 302, I (b), 294.

2. *Ibid.*, I (b), 294.

3. *Ibid.*, 13.

4. *Zakhirat al Khavanin*, f. 128b.

brothers joined the Mughals against his cause.[1]

The *mansab* awarded to Devi Singh needs further examination. On Jujhar Singh's death in 1635 he was recognised as the Raja of Orchha, but he could not rise above the mansab of 2500/2500 though he remained in imperial service till the 17th R.Y. of Aurangzeb.[2] It is noteworthy that other Bundela chieftains gained higher *mansabs* during the same period.[3] Was it due to the fact that Devi Singh could not win over the Bundela opposition which rallied behind Champat, and which compelled him to stay away from Orchha?[4]

From now onwards the major Bundela chieftains served the Mughals loyally. Only Champat and later his son Chhatrasal remained hostile to the Mughals, though they also sought for an opportunity to get into imperial service.

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1. Lahori, I, 248, 255; *Chhatra Prakash*, Introduction, 9-10, ascited by R.B. Saxena, *op.cit.*, 82.

2. No account for Devi Singh is available after 17th R.Y. of Aurangzeb, see *Dilkusha*, 65 (a).

3. Compare Devi Singh's *mansab* with those of Pahar Singh and Sujan Singh (his son). Pahar Singh would have succeeded Jujhar Singh in case Devi Singh was not 'restored' to the Orchha *gaddi*. It might have been a gestured made to pacify Pahar Singh that he was awarded higher *mansab* as compared to Devi Singh.

4. B.D. Gupta, *Maharaja Chhatrasal Bundela* (Hindi) 1958, 23.

So long as they were hostile,[1] they plundered the petty *zamindars* of the Bundelkhand.

In Appendix 'E' at the end of this Chapter, the family tree of Raja Madhukar Sah's descendents has been reconstructed. When it is compared with the list of Bundela *mansabdars* of the 17th century (Appendix 'F'),[2] we find that almost all the Bundela *mansabdars* belonged to this family. Though it cannot be claimed that the list of *mansabdars* is complete, still on the basis of information available one finds that during the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan none outside this family was admitted as a *mansabdar*, the only exception being Champat who was given the low *mansab* of 800/500 towards the close of Shah Jahan's reign.[3] Even subsequently, 'outsiders' could not get high *mansabs*; once again the exception was Champat and, at a later period, his son Chhatrasal. Both these persons were awarded extraordinary *mansabs* to win them over at crucial times.[4]

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1. For details of their activities see the English translation of Chhatra Prakash by Pogson, *A History of Boondelas*, pp.
2. I am grateful to Professor M. Athar Ali who has very kindly allowed me to use his 'Dictionary of Awards of *Mansabs*, and Appointments in the Mughal Empire'.
3. Waris, *Badshah Nama*, transcript in the Department of History AMU, f. 289(b); Muhammad Salih Kambo, *Amal-i Salih*, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1923-46, III, 482.
4. Champat was allegedly awarded the *mansab* 8000/8000 by Aurangzeb when he helped him cross the Chambal river from an unknown place where river was not so deep, during the war of succession. See Bhimsen, *Nuskha-i Dilkusha*, f. 16a Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, 1656-68, tr. Constable 43. For Chhatrasal see *Dilkusha*, 157b-158a. But since there is no reference in the *Alamgirnama* to such a *mansab* being awarded, it is difficult to believe Bhimsen here. The *mansabs* of Champat and Chhatrasal as given by Bhimsen, were higher than those who had been in the imperial service from quite long time.

The changes made in Dalpat Rao Bundelas *mansabs* from time to time illustrate some practices of the Mughal administration. Normally an incumbent of a particular post was given an additional *mashrut* or conditional *mansab*, which was normally resumed after he had relinquished that post. But as Dalpats case shows, this did not necessarily mean that for every fresh post, the *mansab* was raised.[1] At times when the emperor wanted to punish a noble for some minor offence he would reduce the mansab of that noble.[2]

No Bundela *mansabdar* is known to have been awarded a *do-aspah sah-aspah* rank before 1640. Though number of *mansabdars* who were awarded *do-aspah sah-aspah* rank was fewer during the reign of Shah Jahan as compared to the reign of Aurangzeb, still the strength of such *sawar* rank given to Bundelas was higher in Shah Jahan's reign. Also, while Shah Jahan awarded a *do-aspah sah-aspah* rank of as high as 3,500 to a Bundela noble, Aurangzeb did not go beyond 1,000.[3]

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1. Thus when Dalpat was appointed *faujdar* and *qiladar* of Adoni his *mansab* was raised by 500/500 to make it 2500/2500 (*Dilkusha*, 96a), the same was resumed when he relinquished the post (*Dilkusha*, 101a); though afterwards he was allowed to keep it (Dilkusha, 101b). Similarly, the *mansab* of Udwat Singh was raised from 3000/1200 to 3,500/1,500 when he was appointed *qila'dar* of Khelna (*Ma'asir-i Alamgiri*, 473; *Tazkirat-al Umara*, f. 131a).

2. Dalpat's *mansab* was reduced by 500 *sawar* on a complaint of his own son, Ram Chandra, but the same was restored when complaint was found baseless; see *Dilkusha*, ff. 125a-128a.

3. For details see Appendix 'E'.

In Appendix 'F' total of the _zat_ and _sawar_ ranks of Bundela _mansabdars_ has been tabultated for different years, each known change being recorded. From this it would appear that during the first decade and the latter half of the third of Shah Jahan's regin the Bundelas were awarded more _zat_ and _sawar_ ranks than during any other period during the whole of the 17th century. But since our information is based on a number of sources of varying quality, we will not be justified in doing more than simply noting the fact.

The Bundela relations with Mughal power highlight the contradictions inherent in the position occupied by such chiefs as entered the Mughal apparatus. On the one hand, they obtained additional power and sources by virtue of their _mansabs_ and _jagirs_; and this they could employ against other chiefs in order to expand their own power further. Clearly, the power of Bir Singh was based on this protection, which greatly facilitated Bundela-Rajput expansion at the expense of Gond territory. But the Mughal Empire too could not tolerate the growth of a principality beyond a point owing to its own 'security needs.' As a result it was compelled to impose a restraint on the chief's power in due course. In spite of possible personal and accidental factors, the fall of Jujhar Singh must be attributed to this anxiety of the imperial power. An interesting point again is that the destruction of Jujhar Singh did not [redacted] imply destruction of Bundela power. The principality continued; _mansabs_ continued to be awarded to members of the clan. Only new

those favoured belong to a different branch of the family. In other words, the basic alliance between the chiefs and the Empire survived, whatever tribulations might be caused by the specific contradictions in their relationship.

Bhadauriyas:

Apart from the Bundelas, there were some other clans of Rajput chieftains or zamindars in the suba who were admitted to the Mughal nobility. One of these clans that of the Bhadauriyas, was a branch of the Chauhan Rajputs. They are recorded as zamindars (Chauhan-i Bhadauriya) in pargana Etawah, which they are shown as sharing with the Brahmans, and pargana of Hatkant of which they were the sole zamindar.[1] In addition they held the zamindari of pargana Chandwar which in the Ain-i Akbari[2] has the entry 'Chauhans' under the column of zamindars.[3] The Zakhiratu-l-Khawanin makes it definite that this parganas was under the Bhadauriyas.[4] Pargana Rapri, too, has the entry Chauhan, the descendants of Rawat Bahan, which presumably refers to a sept of the Bhadauriyas. The total jama' of the parganas amount to about 2.05% of the jama' of the sarkar Agra to which these parganas belong; the total of the zamindars' retainers in these parganas come to 4,400 cavalry and 46,000 infantry.[5] The Zakhirat ul Khawanin tells us that the

1. Ain., I Blochmann ed., 443.
2. Zakhirat ul Khawanin, Aligarh Ms., f. 108 a.
3. Ain., op.cit.
4. Zakhirat, op. cit.
5. Ain., op.cit.

Bhadauriyas could put into the field 10,000 cavalry and 1,00,000 infantry during times of emergency.[1] The four *parganas* of the Bhadauriyas are contiguous and form a fairly large belt along the Jamana immediately to the East and South-east of Agra town, and all of them had brick forts.[2] The *Zakhiratu-l Khawanin* therefore called them the protector of the capital city, and offers the following description of the Bhadauriyas:

"Raja Bikramajit Bhadauriya is a *zamindar* of the neighbourhood of Akbarabad, i.e. of Jalesar and Chandwar. (The Bhadauriyas) are a large clan, brave and manly. In every village there is a small fort. They never pay tax to the *jagirdar* (*hakim*) without a fight. The peasants who engage in ploughing, whould keep a musket on their shoulder and a pouch (for gunpowder) at their waist. The *taccavi* that they obtain from the *jagirdar* is (for obtaining) gunpowder The boundary of their territory comes to three *kurohs* (7 miles) of Akbarabad. The noise of their fighting even reaches the ears of the Emperor, who knowingly overlooks it and does not take any step to destroy them. Similarly there is the lawless area (*mawas*) of Mathura and Mahaban, within twenty *kurohs* of Akbarabad. Twenty thousand cavalry may be sent against them; they (people of the *mawas*) are

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1. *Zakhirat ul Khawanin*, Aligarh Mss. f. 108 a.

2. *Ain*, I, 443-4.

not subdued. The inattention of the Emperor is due to this that they (the Bhadauriyas) are the guardians of the fort of Akbarabad, the seat of the honour of the slaves and treasures of the Emperor. If any one thinks of seizing it, (the Bhadauriyas) collect 1,00,000 foot and 10,000 horse to fight and guard the fort. Accordingly when Shah Jahan, at the time of his attack upon Akbarabad, camped here, Bikramajit came to the bank of the Yamuna with all his people (*quam*), and sent the message: 'The wealth, country, fort and treasure (will) belong to the Prince; but so long as Emperor Jahangir is alive, he cannot take possession of them. The author of these line was present at the time of these negotiations. Bikramajit had served under the Prince during the compaign against the Rana of Udaipur."[1]

Though the Bhadauriyas submitted to the Mughals, about 1558-59,[2] and were brought into the imperial service under Akbar, it is not certain when their chief actually obtained mansabs. In the *Ain's* list of *mansabdars* one Mukutman Bhadauriya is entered as a *mansabdar* of 500, with the title of 'Raja'.[3] Thereafter he seems to have made rapid

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1. This information is omitted in the printed text published from Karachi.

2. *AN.* II, 78.

3. *Ain.* I, Blochmann ed., 228. *Tabaqat* also lists him as a *mansabdar* of 500(*zat*) in the 49th R.Y. of Akbar.

progress in the Mughal hierarchy and by the beginning of Jahangir's reign he had reached the _mansab_ of 2,000.[1]

Another Bhadauriya chief Bikramajit was also recognised as raja and, together with his uncle, Mukund, received mansabs in the 49th regnal year (1605).[2] The account of this chief in _Zakhirat-ul Khavanin_ styles him _zamindar_ of environs of Agra, Jalesar and Chandwar.[3]

It is strange that in the _Tuzuk_ the Bhadauriyas are not mentioned either as a _mansabdar_ or having been deputed on some military expedition, or the like, whereas Lahori states that Raja Bikramajit Bhadauriya was sent under Shah Jahan to the expedition against Mewar in 1614.[4] He next appears in history in 1623, when Shah Jahan turning rebel marched upon Agra from the Deccan; Raja Bikramajit Bhadauriya remained loyal to Jahangir, and sought to guard it for him, warning Shah Jahan to keep away from Agra and not to touch any imperial property so long as Jahangir was alive.[5] Shah Jahan seems to have taken no revenge on the Bhadauriyas

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1. _Zakhirat ul Khavanin_, I, 234, calls him Rai Lakshman Bhadauriya, while one of the Mss., used by the editors, calls him Rai Mukutman.

2. _AN_, III, 834.

3. _Zakhirat ul Khavanin_, Aligarh Mss. f. 108a.

4. Lahori, I, 166.

5. _Zakhirat ul Khavanin_, _op.cit._

when he became Emperor in 1628. Instead we come across numerous references in Lahori and Waris to the Bhadauriya chiefs. They were styled _rajas_ and were sent on important military expeditions from time to time.[1] They were in the regular employ of the emperor, and were awarded _mansabs_.[2] According to the _Ma'asirul Umara_, Bikramajit died in 11th regnal year of Jahangir (1616 A.D.);[3] but this conflicts with the evidence of _Zakhirat-ul Khawanin_ about his being alive in 1628. His successor, Kishan Singh, was duly confirmed and recognised as _raja_ under Shahjahan.

From Shahjahan onwards members of a family of the Bhadauriyas remained in the imperial service, and their chiefs continued to receive the title of _raja_. Thus Raja Kishan Singh was succeeded in 1643-44, by Badan Singh, who was his uncle's grandson, as there was no legal male heir of Raja Kishan Singh.[4] Badan Singh had served the Emperor since 1632-33[5] and was deputed on different military expeditions.[6] Towards the end of 1652-53 Raja Badan Singh

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1. Lahori, I1, 512-3; I11, 97, 136; II, 239 &c.
2. For the _mansabs_ see Appendix M.
3. _Ma'asirul Umara_, II, 228.
4. Lahori, II, 342.
5. Lahori, I1, 512-13.
6. Lahori, I1, 512-13; II, 239; Waris, 221, 238.

died in Qandhar, and was succeeded by his son Maha Singh.[1] Raja Maha Singh, along with his sons, supported the cause of Aurangzeb during the war of succession.[2] But it appears that Raja Maha Singh did not receive any favours for his services at such a crucial time; his *mansabs* remained the same for a couple of years and was increased to 1,000/1,000 from perhaps 1,000/800 in 1666-67, when he was sent on an expedition to Qandhar.[3]

The *Zakhiratul Khawanin*, in the passage already quoted, shows that many of the Bhadauriyas were peasants who carried arms, especially muskets. It is of some interest that when Raja Maha Singh, the Bhadauriya chief, was sent to take part in the campaign against the Rathores in 1679-80 he took with him 1,600 musketeers of whom 600 were to serve his son Udat Singh, and the other 1,000 were for the imperial service. According to the Mughal regulations, controllingthe the use of such *zamindars* levies, the musketeers actually serving were to go home (*watan*) after some time and were to be replaced on duty by others.[4]

1. Waris, 238.

2. *Alamgirnama*, 202.

3. According to Waris, Maha Singh was granted the title of *raja* on Badan Singh's death, and an increase in his *mansab* which became 1000/800; for the next promotion, in 1666-67 to 1000/1000(500x2-3h) see *Alamgirnama*, 1042.

4. *Waqai Sarkar Ranthambhore and Ajmer*, transcribed copy in the Department of History, AMU, Aligarh, No. 79, pp.403-4. I owe my thanks to Mr. Iqtidar Alam Khan for this informa tion.

From the *mansabs* awarded to the Bhadauriyas it would ap pear that they could not reach the higher echelons of the Mughal nobility. Raja Badan Singh seems to have been the only Bhadauriya raja who could reach beyond the rank of 1,000 *zat*.[1] Also, there is only one instance when any Bhadauriya was granted a *do-aspah sih-aspah mansab*. Similarly there is only one case when a Bhadauriya held any office in the Mughal burauecracy.[2]

Narwaris:

The case of the chiefs of Narwar is different from other *zamindars* holding *mansabs* in the *suba*. In the *sarkar* of Narwar, not the Narwaris, who were Kachhwahas, but the Tonwar Rajputs are recorded as the *zamindars*.[3] This means that though the Narwaris held the *sarkar* as hereditary *jagirdars*, they were not the *zamindars* of the principality Thus we have a rare case where a *watan jagir* is held by a family not holding *zamindari* of the locality.

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1. Mukutman's *mansab* of 2,000 given in the *Zakhiratul-Khawanin* is not corroborated by any other source; also the title of raja washeld by Bikramajit, at this time.

2. Raja Maha Singh was *faujdar* of Fatehpur Hanswa for sometime, perhaps from the closing years of Shahjahan's reign, and was replaced in the first regnal year of Aurangzeb, and deputed elsewhere; see *Alamgirnama*, 240.

3. *Ain*., I, Blochmann ed., p. 460.

During a disputed succession in the house of Amber, Askaran, one of the aspirants to the throne, lost to Raja Bharmal, about 1547, and fled to the court of Salim Shah, who thereupon assigned him the territory of Narwar.[1] Sometime during the reign of Akbar Raja Askaran entered Mughal service and apparently continued to hold Narwar in *jagir*, though the association with Narwar was not yet regarded as firm during the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir as to give Raja Askaran and his successors the designation Narwari. During the reign of Shah Jahan one of his successors, Raja Ram Das, began[2] to be referred to as 'Narwari'. The 'Geneological Table' of the Kachhwahas and other Rajasthani sources identify Raja Ram Das Narwari as a descendant of Raja Askaran.[3]

When a local chieftain entered Mughal service his territory was usually assigned to him as *watan-jagir*, thus being made exempt from transfer. The Narwaris, though they were originally little more than governors on behalf of the

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1. *Nainsi ri Khyat*, II, 291, 303; *Vir Vinod*, II, 1275. Some system similar to the *watan-jagir* seems to have existed even before the Mughals.

2. 'Geneological Table' in the State Archives of Jaipur, as cited by R.N. Prasad, *Raja Man Singh of Amber*, p.5; R.A. Khan, *The Kachhwahas under Akbar and Jahangir*, p.7.

3. *Nainsi*, II, 201,303; *Vir Vinod*, II, 1275.

Surs, were thus treated at par with *zamindars*, for no more reason, perhaps, than that the Narwari were Rajputs, and so were anxious to hold a watan principality.[1] Whenever a Narwari chief died, his *jagir* was conferred upon his successor, who had to be recognised as such by the Emperor and who thereupon was bestowed the title of the 'Raja'.[2]

While Raja Askaran and his successors served the Mughals by participating in different military expeditions,[3] they are not known to have held administrative charges, only Askaran was for some time given charge of Agra along with Shaikh Ibrahim in the 31st regnal year of Akbar.[4]

Askaran's son Raja Raj Singh seems to have obtained a very rapid rise in the Mughal hierarchy. About 1595 he held the *mansab* of 300;[5] but by 1604-5, he had risen to the rank of 3,500/3,000,[6] though the next year his *zat* rank is

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1. A similar assignment occurs during Aurangzeb's reign when Raja Bishan Singh (of Amber, house), *faujdar* of Islamabad (Mathura) was granted the some *parganas* inhabited by the Jats as his *watan-jagir* (Transcript No. 85, p. 29,30).

2. Thus, when Raja Ram Das Narwari died in 1639-40, Amar Singh, his grandson, was granted the title of 'Raja' and the territories held by Raja Ram Das were conferred on him. (Lahori, II, 174).

3. *Akbar Nama*, III, 287,464,526,813; Lahori, Ii,241; Iii, 155; II, 239, 284; Waris, 172, 203; *Alamgir Nama*, 556 673 ' c.

4. *Akbar Nama*, III, 511.

5. *Ain.*, I, Naval Kishore ed., p. 162.

6. *Iqbalnama-i Jahangiri*, I, p. 500.

stated to be 3,000 only.[1] He might presumably have received this promotion during Akbar's last years in return for his services against Bir Singh Bundela. In 1609, the next stage in his promition is recorded by Jahangir, who gives his mansab as 4,000/3,000.[2] This was the highest mansab that any of the Narwari Rajas could reach during the entire period.[3] None of them seems to have ever received any do-aspah sih-aspah mansab. His successor Ram Das (1615-1639) began with the mansab of 1,000/400 and rose to 2,000/1,000 (see Appendix 'I'). Ram Das's grandson Raja Amar Singh began with a mansab of 1,000/600, but for some reason was deprived of his mansab at the beginning of Aurangzeb's reign, possibly for his role in the War of Succession. It is not known for how long he remained without a mansab, and whether it resulted in the lose of his watan-jagir as well. But in 1659-60 his old mansab (1,500/1,000), held at the close of Shah Jahan's reign, was restored.[4] But after some time (1667-68) we again find that his mansab had

1. Iqbalnama-i Jahangiri, I, p. 510.

2. Tuzuk, 75. In the printed text and English translation it is Rai Jai Singh, but in Asafiya Mss. it is clearly Raja Raj Singh. I owe my thanks, for this information, to Professor Irfan Habib. In the takmila of Akbar Nama Raja Raj Singh's mansab, in the 49th regnal year, is given as 3,500/3,000 (Akbar Nama, III, 837).

3. See Appendix 'I'.

4. Alamgir Nama, 215.

been reduced to 1,000/650.[1] The cause for this is again unclear, for Amar Singh served the Mughal forces in different military expeditions during all this time.[2]

Badgujars

Badgujars were yet another Rajput clan who attained a certain prominence in the 17th century. They held substantial zamindaris in the sarkar Kol.[3] According to their family tradition they were the descendents of one Raja Pratap Singh who had settled here during the 12th century.[4] They do not seem to have enjoyed the status of Rajas under Akbar, and the early years of Jahangir.[5] No Badgujar is mentioned in the list of the mansabdars of Akbar.

The first Badgujar to come into prominence was Anirai Singh. It appears that he had been in the service of the Emperor for some time. In a tiger hunt, near Bari, he gallantly saved the life of Jahangir, who in recognition of his brave act granted him the title of 'Singh-dalan'

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1. Alamgir Nama, 1056.
2. Ibid., 555, 673, 734, 858, &c.
3. Ain., I, Blochmann ed., pp. 446-47.
4. Lahori, II, 315, calls Anup Singh's father as Raja (Har Narain), but there is no evidence to show that he held any mansab and was in the imperial service at that time or earlier.
5. Raja Lakshman Singh, Tarikh-i Zila Bulandshahr, pp. 311-14.

Amirai Singh subsequently came to be known as Anup Singh Badan.[1] Perhaps it was at this time that Anup Singh was awarded a *watan-jagir* containing 164 villages. These were equally distributed on both sides of Ganga, near modern Anupshahr, in district Bulandshahr.[2] He is also credited with having found the town of Anupshahr, named after himself.[3] He served the imperial government in different expeditions,[4] and reached the highest *mansab* of his career 3,000/1,500 under Shah Jahan.[5] During his life time his son Jai Ram was inducted into the Mughal hierarchy and was deputed in different military compaigns.[6] Jai Ram received the title of Raja upon his father's death. His tenure was not long he died in 1647-48, whereupon his son Amar Singh entered Mughal service.[7] It appears that Amar Singh could not reach a higher *mansab* worth finding a place in the major chronicles of Aurangzeb's reign.[8] After him we loose sight of the descendent of Anup Singh's family in the Mughal chronicles.

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1. In 8th regnal year; see *Tuzuk*, 88-9; Lahori, II,493-5; *Zakhirat-ul Khawanin*, II, ed. S. Moinul Haq, Karachi, 1970, p. 364-5.
2. *Tarikh-i Bulandshahr*, 261-2.
3. *Ibid.*, 261.
4. Lahori, Ii, 82, 240, 324, 360; Iii, 97 &c.
5. *Ibid.*, Iii, 299.
6. *Ibid.*, Iii, 97, 140, 227; II, 485, 550 &c.
7. *Ibid.*, Iii, 97.
8. In 1686-7 his *mansab* was 500/500; see Waris, f. 269 b (I my thanks to Professor M.Athar Ali for this information). Also see, *Salih*, III, 481.

Though Raja Anup Singh and, thereafter, his son, Jai Ram, were granted high *mansabs*, and served in different military expeditions, we do not come across any evidence that they were assigned any important office in the Mughal bereaucracy. We also do not find any *do-aspah sih-aspah mansabs* awarded to them.

Qayam Khanis:

Among Muslim zamindars the Qayam Khanis, or the descendents of one Qayam Khan, are entered in the *Ain* as the sole *zamindar* against *pargana* Jhunjhunu, and as sharing with two others the *pargana* of Narhar, in *sarkar* Narnaul.[1] They seem to have risen to importance in the late 14th century, under Qayam or Qawam Khan who belonged to the Chauhan clan of the Rajputs, and had been converted to Islam.[2]

The Qayam Khanis, or descendents (and followers?) of Qayam Khan, seem to have established themselves as a separate Rajput clan in the Jhunjhunu - Fatehpur area. They

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1. *Ain*, I, Blochmann, ed., 454.

2. According to Nainsi, *Nainsi ri Khyat*, III, 273-4, Qayam Khan belonged to a place called Darera, and found the settlements of Jhunjhunu and Fatehpur (the latter place was in suba Ajmer). It further says erroneously that Qayam Khan had become Muslim during the reign of Bahlul Lodi, whome he served. That Qayam Khanis were Rajputs is confirmed by the *Waqai Ajmer wa Ranthambhore* (transcribed copy in the Department of History, No. 79, p.607). That Qayam Khan belonged to a period earlier than Bahlul Lodi is established from *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, of Yahya bin Ahmad, ed. M. Hidayat Husain, A.S.B., Calcutta, 1931, pp. 177,181,189 (where he is called Qavam Khan). Also see *Kyam Khan Rasa of Jan*, ed. Dashrath Sharma & others, 1953, pp. 11-12.

became powerful enough to challenge Bahlul Lodi.[1] At the time of the *Ain*,[2] they possessed a large force of retainers as *zamindars*. Their chiefs might also have joined Mughal service as *mansabdars*. But promotion to a high *mansab* took time. It was in the 3rd regnal year of Jahangir that Alaf Khan (1608-9) Qayam Khani received the *mansab* of 700/500.[3] He became the first Mughal *qila'dar* of Kangra fort when it was captured after a prolonged campaign, in the 15th regnal year.[4] He held this appointment till, at the least, the end of the 16th regnal year.[5] We again hear of his appointment to the same post in the 18th regnal year.[6] Towards the close of 17th regnal year Alaf Khan had reached the *mansab* of 2,000/1,500.[7] We do not hear about him in Shah Jahan's reign. He died towards the end of Jahangir's reign.[8] His

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1. *Afsana-i Shahan*, of Muhammad Kabir bin Shaikh Ismail, Br. Mus. Add. 24, 409, ff. 16a-18a, describes a fierce struggle between Qayam Khanis and other Rajputs, on the one side, and Bahlul Lodi on the other. M. Athar Ali, *The Mughal Nobility.....*201, has identified one Alaf Khan Qayam Khani as Afghan, but this is incorrect.

2. *Ain*., I, Blochmann, ed., p. 453; in pargana the strength of their cavalry was 2,000 and infantry 3,000, in *pargana* Narhar, the combined strength of all the three *zamindar* castes was 500 cavalry and 2,000 infantry, and in *pargana* Fatehpur Jhunjhunu, *Sarkar* Nagor, *suba* Ajmer, where also the Qayam Khanis are entered as sole *zamindars* they maintained 500 cavalry and 2,000 infantry.

3. *Tuzuk*, 68.

4. *Ibid*., 320.

5. *Ibid*., 373.

6. *Ibid*., 373.

7. *Ibid*., 348.

8. *Kayam Khan Rasa*, 80.

His son, Daulat Khan, was awarded the *mansab* of 1,000/800,[1] and, the qila'dari of Kangra on Alaf Khan's death.[2] Daulat Khan, like other *mansabdars*, participated in different military expeditions,[3] and for his services received promotions in *mansabs* and the *jagir* of Nagor.[4]

During Aurangzeb's reign we come across two Qayam Khani chiefs, Sardar, who later on came to be known as Alaf Khan, and Dindar Khan. Alaf Khan (II) rose to the rank of 1,500/800.[5] We do not know much about Dindar Khan Qayam Khani except that he was attached to the Mughal forces deployed against the Rathores in 1679-80.[6]

The cavalry strength maintained by the Qayam Khanis in *pargana* Jhunjhunu was the second largest in the *suba* which a single caste of any *zamindars* maintained within a *pargana*.[7] It is interesting to note that the ratio between

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1. Lahori, II, 184.
2. *Ibid.*, II, 175; *Kayam Khan Rasa*, 82.
3. *Ibid.*, 240, 485, 554-5.
4. *Ibid.*, 389; at the time of assignement of *jagir* of Nagor his *mansab* was raised to 1,500/1,000. Also see *Kayam Khan Rasa*, 84.
5. *Alamgir Nama*, 290, 625.
6. *Waqai Ajmer wa Ranthambhore*, Transcript No. 79, pp. 438-7 501, 502, 540-1, 'e.
7. In *pargana* Jhatra, *sarkar* Ranthambhor, the recorded cavalry is 4,000(*Ain*., I, Blochmann, 449), in *pargana* Hatkant and Jhunjhunu, 2,000 (*Ain*. I, 444,453). In pargana *Agra* and Etawah the cavalry was 3,000 and 2,000 respectively (*Ain*. I, 445), but in all these *parganas* three different castes of *zamindars* are recorded.

jama' and *sawar* in *pargana* Jhunjhunu was lower than in *pargana* Hatkant and *sarkar* Narwar; that is in *pargana* Jhunjhunu more cavalry was maintained vis-a vis its *jama'* as compared to the head-quarters of the Bhadauriyas, and *watan-jagir* of the Narwari rajas. This leads us to infer that the Qayam Khanis held Jhunjhunu practically as hereditary chiefs, and the *pargana* was assessed at an exceptionaly low *jama'*, as a favour to them.

Khanzadas And Meos:

The region popularly known as Mewat covered the *sarkars* of Alwar and Tijara, and some portions of *sarkar* Sahar within our *suba*. The principal *zamindar* castes recorded in the *Ain* for this region are the Khanzadas and Meos, who together held over 58% of the *zamindari* land in *sarkar* Alwar, and over 90% in *sarkar* Tijara (counting on the basis of the *jama'*).[1]

The Khanzadas claim to ~~claim to~~ belong to the Jadon clan of the Rajputs, whose ancestors, Sambhar Pal and Sopar Pal, two brothers, are said to have been converted to Islam during the reign of Firuz Tughluq.[2] They were *zamindars* of

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1. *Ain.*, I, Blochmann ed., pp. 451-53.
2. Muhammad Makhdum, *Arzang-i Tijara*, 7,17; Muhammad Najmul Ghani, *Karnama-i Rajputan*, 345-6.

some territories in this region along with their Hindu kinsmen. Since that time their descendants came to be known as Khanzadas, 'sons of Khans', since both brothers were given the title of 'Khan'; Sambhar Pal receiving the title of Nahar Khan and Sopar Pal that of Jhajjar Khan.[1] While the territories held by Jhajjar Khan and his descendants are not described, those distributed among the nine sons of Nahar Khan, as recorded in a traditional account, were spread over the area which were spread over the parganas of the Ain's sarkars of Delhi, Rewari, Tijara, Sahar, Alwar and Agra.[2]

It would appear that the Khanzadas could not maintain good relations with the rulers of Delhi and thus lost some of their possessions.[3] Later, in 1526 the Khanzada chief, Hasan Khan Mewati, joined Rana Sanga's banners

1. Arzang-i Tijara, 8; Karnama-i Rajputan, 345-46. Some of Khanzadas claim that they were originally called 'Khan Jadon' which people mispronounced 'Khanzadah'. This explanation, however, seems very unconvincing.

2. Arzang-i Tijara, 35-44.

3. Mubarak Shah and Bahlul both sent expeditions against the Khanzadas, Bahlul even took away some of the parganas from them, see Arzang-i Tijara, 17,20. Because of their rebellious tendencies important people were assigned these territories, thus Sikandar Lodi assigned Tijara to Alauddin, his brother (Ibid., p.21); at a later period Humayun gave Tijara to Mirza Hindal (Ibid.,p.23).

against Babur, with 10,000 to 12,000 horsemen and was killed in the ensuing battle.[1]

The attitude of the Khanzadas towards the rulers of Delhi seems to have cost them dearly. In the *Ain's* list of *parganas* and *zamindars* we do not find the Khanzadas as *zamindars* against some of the place which were held by the sons of Nahar Khan. About 1595 they were confined to the *sarkars* of Alwar and Tijara only; and even in those *sarkars* they are either not mentioned against some of the *parganas* as *zamindars* or are shown as sharing some of them. At the same time Khanzadas are entered as *zamindars* against some new *parganas*. These 'new' possessions might have belonged to the descendants of Jajjar Khan, brother of Nahar Khan, or might have passed into the hands of some of the Khanzadas in the intervening period. Some of the *parganas* seem to have been carved out by particular Khanzada *zamindars* who founded places that became their headquarters.[2]

While the Khanzadas held large tracts of land in their *zamindari*, c. 1595, no Khanzad chief held a *mansab*

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1. *Babur Nama*, 545,547,551,552,577-81; *Arzang-i Tijara*,17.18.
2. For example, pargana Bahadurpur, sarkar Alwar, was established by Bahadur Khan, son of Nahar Khan; similarly *pargana* Gurgaon was established by one of the descendants of Alauddin, son of Nahar Khan (*Arzang-i Tijara*,11).

high enough to be mentioned in the chronicles of the reigns of Akbar or Jahangir. Towards the close of Shah Jahan's reign, one Firuz Khan Mewati, who, in fact, was a Khanzada, found employment in the imperial service.[1] During the war of succession he was in the train of Dara Shukoh, but deserted him when he found Dara's to be a lost cause.[2] He was immediately enrolled by Aurangzeb as a mansabdar with the rank of 1,500 _zat_, 1,000 _sawar_.[3] Later on successively he was appointed _faujdar_ of Etawah and Dipalpur.[4] He thus enjoyed a respectably high status. One can reasonably infer from this that the Khanzadas, besides being _zamindars_, also held _mansabs_, but not high enough, except in the case of Firuz Khan, to intercede with historical record.

The Meos, another substantial _zamindar_ caste of this region, call themselves as Meo Chhatri and trace their ancestry to a mythological Raja Basu and a mermaid.[5] Tod regards the Meos as belonging to the Mina tribe.[6] Some others

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1. _Arzang-i Tijara_, 17.
2. _Alamgirnama_, 96,205,313,325,409,413-14; also see M. Athar Ali, _op. cit._, 116,200.
3. _Alamgirnama_, 96,440.
4. _Ibid._, 846 (for _faujdar_ of Etawah), and p. 875 (for _faujdar_ of Dipalpur).
5. James Skinner, _Tashrihul Aqwam_, Br. Mus. Add.27,255, Vol. I, ff. 71-75.
6. James Tod, _Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan_, Oxford, 1920, p. 1332; Crooke, III, 485, also holds the same view.

consider them as the offspring of Minas and Rajputs.[1] Some time during the Sultanate period they were converted to Islam, allegedly by one Shahid Salar of Bahraich.[2] The Meos observed many of the customs and traditions of the Hindus in their social and religious practices and ceremonies.[3] Also, like the Rajputs, they are divided into clans.[4]

The Meos had always been turbulent and during the Sultanate period numerous expeditions were launched against them right from Balban's time. But at no time is any leader from amongst the Meos themselves known to have emerged. Quite possibly they were content to be followers of the Khanzadas of Alwar and Tijara. According to a Meo tradition their leader was one Todar Mal, who lived at Ajangarh holding it in his zamindari. When he boasted of his powers Akbar sent for him in rage. He succeeded in conciliating Akbar and agreed to pay half of the revenue of his tract to Akbar.[5] Though these traditions also speak of his son,

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1. M. Najmul Ghani, Karnama-i Rajputan, Bareilly, p. 345
2. Cunningham, Vol. XX, p. 22.
3. Tahshirul Aqwam, ff. 71-75; Cunningham, XX, 22-24.
4. Cunningham, XX, pp. 22-4, Crooke, Vol. III, pp. 487-91.
5. Ibid., XX, p. 26; Crooke, III, p. 485.

Darya Khan, there is no reference in the Mughal chronicles of the 16th and 17th century either to him or to any other Meo chief.

In the Ain the Meos have been recorded as zamindars in many parganas of the sarkars of Alwar, Tijara and Sahar. In Alwar their total share in the zamindari (proportionate) to the jama' of various mahals) was about 25% in Tijara 48%, and in Sahar 18%.[1] In absolute terms the jama' fixed on their zamindaris was more than Rs. 2.5 lacs in sarkar Alwar, over Rs.2 lacs in sarkar Tijara and about Rs.27,000 in sarkar Sahar. Still the Meos do not find a place in the official hierarchy. This leads us to infer that during our period of study, generally, the Meos were in the main small zamindars.

The Meos are a large cultivating community; and quite possibly many of them were simply peasants belonging to the upper stratum. Some might have been of a higher status with large numbers of retainers. In all, there are eight parganas, situated in sarkar Alwar and Tijara, where Meos are recorded as the sole zamindars.[2] These parganas are

1. See Appendix A.
2. Baroda Meo, Dadera, Rath, Hamsauli, Harsana, all in sarkar Alwar, and Sakras, Ferozpur and Karher in sarkar Tijara; see Ain, I, Blochmann, 451-52. Jarrett's edition shows Meos as the sole zamindars against many parganas of sarkar Tijara, which is incorrect.

are situated in close proximity to each other, but do not form a continguous belt or block. The maximum strength of cavalry recorded was 150, maintained in pargana Dadekar of sarkar Alwar, which also records 1,000 foot-soldiers. While four parganas, namely Baroda Meo, Dadekar, Harsauli and Harsana were in Block A based on jama'-cavalry ratio (see earlier section of this Chapter) pargana Rath in Block B, parganas Sakras and Karher in Block C, and pargana Ferozpur in Block D. This suggests that there were at least some Meo zamindars with large numbers of retainers (compared to the jama' assessed on their territory), and who therefore must have been something more than ordinary 'primary' zamindars. Yet in areas such as lay in Blocks C D, the Meos were probably simple peasant-proprietors.

Apart from the above clans, other zamindars of the suba also seem to have served the Mughals. Probably due to their small mansabs and large numbers historians of the 17th century could not give them a place in their narratives. Thus we find that Jahangir ordered the qanungo of sarkar Agra to despatch 1,000 infantry (piyada) from the zamindars of the sarkar.[1] Similarly, 2,000 cavalry and 5,000 infantry was enrolled from the Bundelkhand region

1. Tuzuk, 76.

in 43rd regnal year of Aurangzeb.[1] One Jujapt, son of Chet Singh, *zamindar* of Kalpi served the Mughal forces in the Deccan, and held a *mansab* of 60 *zat* in 1649-50.[2]

The Jats :

How the traditional cultivating castes came to possess *zamindaris* is not known. Among them, the Jats paid the highest *jama'* (8.47% of the total *jama'* of the *suba*) of all the cultivating castes. In the *Ain* they are recorded as *zamindars*, in the *sarkars* of Agra, Kol, Gwalior, Payanwan Alwar, Narnaul and Sahar.[3] They were mainly concentrated in the regions covered by the modern districts of Agra, Gwalior, Mathura and, to some extent, Aligarh.

Jats who inhabited the Braj region, around Mathura on both sides of the river had a long history of defiance of the Mughal authority. Towards the close of 16th and early 17th century only stray cases of their recalcitrance are reported. Chronicles record of turbulance and rebellion in the areas inhabited by them during the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir. They are alleged to have abstained from paying *mal-i wajib* to the *jagirdars* of their locality and

1. *Akhbarat*, Z'qad, 43 RY, 3 safar, 44 RY.

2. Hyderabad No. 2806/35. I owe this information to the kindness of Professor M. Athar Ali.

3. *Ain*., I, Blochmann, pp. 443-54.

engaged in highway robbery. Still these acts were not considered of any great significance and they were dismissed as the barbarous actions of mere _ganwars_ to be punished with the greatest brutality.[1]

By the time Shah Jahan beame emperor, disturbances in the area seem to have increased considerably. Though Jahangir in his 18th regnal year, had organised a punitive expedition against the peasants of the area, we now find Shah Jahan, in 1627-8, sending an army under such stalwarts as Qasim Khan and Jai Singh to chastise them.[2] How successful these forces were in crushing and leaving a threat for others is not clear; in any case in 1634-35 a big force 12,000 strong was deputed to the same region, divided into two contingents operating on either side of the Yamuna.[3] These disorders raised the importance of the military command of the area. Mushid Quli Khan was appointed as _faujdar_ of Mathura and Mahaban, and accordingly his mansab was raised to 2,000/2,000.[4] Within two years he obtained another enhancement in his _mansab_,[5] but was soon killed in an encounter.[6]

1. A.N., II, 231; Tuzuk, 375-6; Manucci, I, 134.
2. _Tuzuk_, 375-6; Lahori, I i, 196, 204-5.
3. Lahori, I ii, 71-2, 76.
4. _Ibid._, I ii, 108(1635-36); it is notable that the increase amounted to 500 _zat_ with 1,300 _sawar_.
5. _Ibid._, I ii, 207; thus his _mansab_ became 2,500/2,500 of which 500 _sawar_ were made _do-aspah sih aspah_.
6. Khafi Khan, I, 552.

By this time the rebellious outbreaks were no more confined to the vicinity of Mathura_Mahaban area. A force was sent towards *pargana* Chandwar, east of Agra, in 11th regnal year, under Asalat Khan and Shaikh Farid.[1] In the north of Mathura, *parganas* of Kama Pahari, Koh Mujahid of *sarkar* Sahar, were also affected. Shah Jahan devised a novel method to deal with the refractory elements by assigning the *parganas* of *sarkar* Sahar to Kirat Singh, son of Mirza Raja Jai Singh, to rout the seditious, elements and populate them instead with his clansmen.[2]

So far none of our sources (except Manucci) ascribed any of the rebellious to the Jats specifically, nor is the name of any rebel leader given. For the first time we hear of one Gokula, a Jat, in the 12th regnal year of Aurangzeb His activities spread far and wide, much beyond the confines of his own original locality (Talpat near Mathura). His depradations extended to Sadabad across the Yamuna.[3] Thus, it appears that Gokula had with him a regular armed band, and that his activities became a serious threat to the Mughal

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1. Khafi Khan, I, 582. They both had earlier experience of Mathura region in 1634-36, (see Lahori, Iii,71-2,76).

2. Waris, 138 (1650). For a similar action by Aurangzeb,see *Nigarnama-i Munshi*,182.

3. *Ma'asir-i Alamgiri*, 83, 91-4.

authorities. This compelled Aurangzeb to direct the compaign personally.[1] Though Gokula was captured towards the end of the 12th regnal year.[2] Yet before that Abdunnabi, *faujdar* of Mathura was killed in an encounter.

Now Hasan Ali Khan launched a compaign of general annihilation of the seditious elements; and he was acclaimed by the Emperor for his work.[3]

For the next few years no serious uprising is recorded;[4] and it appears as if with the death of Gokula, the Jats were subdued. But, in the meanwhile, Raja Ram of Sarseni assumed the leadership and began to pose a serious challenge to the Mughal authority in the region. It compelled Aurangzeb to despatch a big force from the Deccan under Khan Jahan Bahadur Zafar Jung, with 2 crore *dams* to meet the

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1. *Ma'asir-i Alamgiri*, 91-2.

2. The force that was sent against Gokula Jat comprised of 2,000 *barqandaz*, 1,000 archers, 1,000 musketeers, 1,000 rocketeers, 25 pieces of canons, 1,000 *beldars*, and 1000 *tabardars*. Hasan Ali Khan, in-charge of the forces, had been appointed *faujdar* of Mathura, vice Saf Shikan Khan who remained in office for a very short period.

3. *Akhbarat*, 3 Ziqad 14 RY; *Maasir-i Alamgiri*, 100.

4. *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, II, 679. In the 12th RY. Shujat Khan (Raadandaz Khan) was deputed against the rebels in the neighbourhood of Agra. Multafat Khan, who was appointed *faujdar* of Agra, in 1681, was killed by the rebels. See *Maasir-i Alamgiri*, 209; Manucci, II, 209-10.

expenses.[1] Prince Bidar Bakht accompanied him. In this expedition Raja Ram was killed (1688).[2]

The appointment of Raja Bishan Singh, at this time, as *faujdar* of Mathura, with a high *mansab*[3] and assignment of *jagir* in some localities of this region,[4] was apparently made to keep in check the activities of the Jats.

The Jat leadership had, now, passed into the hands of Churaman, Raja Ram's nephew.[5] Raja Bishan Singh had to launch one campaign after another to subdue the rebels in different localities.[6] In some other localities probably outside the jurisdiction of Raja Bishn Singh's *faujdari*, well armed forces were despatched from time to time.[7] Still the Jats could not be crushed.

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1. *Ma'asir-i Alamgiri*, 274; Khafi Khan, II, 275.

2. *Ma'asir-i Alamgiri*, 274.

3. *Transcript* No. 85, pp. 23-26, 44 & c.

4. *Ibid*.

5. Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System*........ 340.

6. *Ma'asir-i Alamgiri*, 340; *Akhbarat*, 17 Shaban, 37 RY, 25 Rabi I, 37 RY, 7 Z'qad, 38 R.Y.

7. *Akhbarat*, Z'hij, 37 R.Y.; 29 Shaaban, 39 R.Y.; 8 Muharram, 44 R.Y.; *Ma'asir-i Alamgiri*, 498. None of these references identify the locality, except *Ma'asir-i Alamgiri* as Sansani in 49 R.Y.

The Jats who were basically cultivators and held small *zamindaris*,[1] did not enjoy a sufficient status to receive *mansabs*, at any time during the 17th century. It is possible that their hostility to the Mughal authority arose out of their resentment against the unremitting pressure for land-revenue, which as we have seen was a constant feature of Mughal agrarian relations.[2] The response of the Mughals to their rebellion was also characteristic. They were ruthlessly massacred, their women and children captured, alongwith their sole means of livelihood their cattle and beast of burden.[3]

Though the Jat leadership was in the hands of the *zamindar* class they were usually small *zamindars*, with small mud fortresses (*garhi*).[4] Still the uprising had a

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1. Even Churaman's father was a *zamindar* of 11 villages, see Irfan Habib, *op.cit.*, 340n.

2. For magnitude of land-revenue demand see Irfan Habib, *op.cit*, Chapter VI; Shireen Moosvi, 'The Magnitude of the land-revenue Demand ......', *Medieval India - A Miscellany*, Vol. IV, pp. 91-121. Also see, Manucci, II, 209-10; *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, 182, for their resistence to pay the revenue.

3. For heavy punishment see, Manucci, II, 131; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, I, 894; *Maasir-i Alamgiri*, 100; *Akhbarat*, 3 Z'qad 14 R.Y.; for lifting of women, children and cattle see *Tuzuk*, 275-6; Lahori, I1, 76; *Ma'asir-i Alamgiri*, 92, 100; *Transcript* No. 85, p. 44.

4. *Tuzuk*, 275-6; *Ma'asir-i Alamgiri*, 100, 340, 498; Manucci, I, 133; *Akhbarat*, 17 Shaaban, 37 R.Y.; 7 Z'qad, 38 R.Y.

popular character in which the wo man-folk also took active part, with handful of obselcte arms[1] as compared to well organised, well equipped army of the Mughals.[2] The rebels had always enjoyed the advantage of the topography of their region. They fought outside their villages and took shelter in the revines and deep forests in their neighbourhood.[3]

When the Mughal authorities could not completely crush these seemingly small uprising with their superior forces due to the nature and character of these uprising, they adopted another method, which was initiated during the reign of Shah Jahan. He awarded zamindaris in these areas to his officials and required them to inhabitate them with their own men.[4] This was to insure the settlement of population hostile to the rebels, so as to force them into isolation.

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1. Manucci, I, 134.

2. Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, 93; Akhbarat, 26 Rabi I, 37 R.Y. While the rebels were equipped with bows, arrows and muskets, imperial armies had even canons with them,

3. Tuzuk, 275-6; Manucci, I, 134; II, 209; Akhbarat, 29 Shaaban, 39 R.Y.

4. Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, 100; Akhbarat, 3 Z'qad, 14 R.Y. For award of the zamindari of Sa'dabad to one Wali Beg by Aurangzeb see, Nigarnama-i Munshi, 182.

Gradually, the Jats brought greater area under their control and increased their strength which was recognised by Muhammad Shah, Aurangzeb's successor. Their *zamindaris* extended over other areas. About 1845, we find Jat *zamindares* in localities against which castes quite other than the Jats are entered as *zamindars* in the *Ain*.[1]

Apart from the disturbances in the Agra-Mathura region, minor uprisings were not unknown in other areas of the *suba*.[2] But it cannot be established which clans of *zamindars*, if any, played a role in these disturbances.

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1. For example, see my article, 'Changes in the Caste Composition of the *Zamindar* Class....', *Indian Historical Review*, Vol. II, No. 1 (1975), pp. 47-67.

2. Thus in 1611 Abdul Rahim Khan-i Khanan was asked to handle the turbulent people in his *jagir* in Kalpi and Kanauj (*Tuzuk*, p.96); in another instance, Abdullah Khan dealt with heavy hand with such elements in his *jagir* of Kalpi (*Dutch Chronicle*, 48); Bahadur Khan in *pargana* Malkusah, *sarkar* Kanauj (Lahori, II, 87); for Kol, see Mandi, II, 72-74; *Alamgirnama*, 752; for Narwar, *Akhbarat*, 14 Shawwal, 6 R.Y.; for Khandela, *Ma'asir-i Alamgiri*, 171; for Hindaun and Bayana, *Ma'asir-i Alamgiri*, 351 & c.

APPENDIX - A

Share of *Zamindar* Clans in The *Jama'* (% of Total *Sarkar*-wise)

Sl. No.	*Zamindar* Castes	S A R K A R												
		Agra	Delhi	Ajmer	Kol	Gwalior	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Alwar	Hisar	Narnaul	Sahar
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1.	Bais	-	1.49	0.32	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2.	Bachhal	-	-	-	0.87	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10.52
3.	Bankra	1.84	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4.	Badgujar	0.08	-	-	23.15	-	-	-	-	-	4.86	-	-	-
5.	Bhadauriya	3.51	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6.	Bundela	-	-	-	-	-	-	7.48	-	-	-	-	-	-
7.	Chandel	-	-	5.87	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8.	Chauhan	18.98	8.75	24.42	17.82	-	-	-	-	-	7.89	-	5.13	-
9.	Dhakra	-	-	3.21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10.	Gahlot	1.84	-	1.51	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
11.	Gaur	8.19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12.	Gaurwah	-	-	0.28	0.80	-	-	1.97	-	-	-	-	-	-
13.	Jadon	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100.00	-	-	-	-
14.	Janghara	-	-	-	1.33	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
15.	Kachhwaha	-	9.86	-	-	-	17.55	-	-	-	2.11	1.87	-	10.52

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1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16.	Khidmatiya	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.11	-	-	-	-	-	-
17.	Panwar	1.40	-	1.11	-	-	4.52	16.25	-	-	-	-	-	-
18.	Parihar	-	6.04	-	-	-	1.33	-	-	-	-	13.98	-	-
19.	Pundir	-	-	-	13.29	-	-	4.05	-	-	-	-	-	-
20.	Rathore	-	-	14.35	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
21.	Rawat	2.88	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
22.	Saharawal	6.86	-	-	-	3.56	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
23.	Sengar	-	9.79	13.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
24.	Sarakhi	-	-	-	1.27	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
25.	Suraj	1.24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
26.	Tomar	-	-	-	-	34.94	-	-	100.00	-	-	19.76	-	-
27.	Kharwal	-	-	6.93	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
28.	Misc.Rajputs	19.21	9.77	21.40	16.88	24.27	45.13	-	-	-	2.10	7.91	-	-
29.	Abbasi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.59	-	-	-
30.	Afghan	-	9.19	1.66	14.16	-	3.36	-	-	-	-	-	2.78	-
31.	Khanzada	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30.42	42.53	8.36	-
32.	Malikzada	-	8.76	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

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1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
33.	Rao	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25.00	48.08	-	16.16
34.	Mina	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.57	-	-	1.49	-	-	-
35.	Musalman	-	-	3.41	2.70	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.85	-
36.	Saiyid	-	-	-	2.81	-	-	-	-	-	0.58	-	-	-
37.	Shaikhzada	2.11	3.51	1.66	1.69	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
38.	Turkman	-	9.19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
39.	Ahir	2.71	-	-	-	-	-	12.20	-	-	-	-	11.59	6.33
40.	Bania	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	19.48	-	-	-
41.	[illegible]	8.97	2.91	0.48	2.70	19.99	-	10.82	-	-	-	-	-	-
42.	Gaud	-	-	-	-	-	8.59	0.84	-	-	-	-	-	-
43.	Gujar	-	-	-	-	0.71	-	13.21	-	-	0.58	4.34	2.79	10.52
44.	Jat	13.39	-	-	1.12	16.53	-	14.86	-	-	1.68	-	19.79	33.58
45.	Kayastha	-	-	-	-	-	11.10	2.40	-	-	-	-	-	-
46.	Kurmi	-	11.12	-	-	-	4.91	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
47.	Lodha	8.19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
48.	Thakur	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5.11	-	10.38
49.	Misc.	-	9.65	0.45	-	-	-	10.41	-	-	0.55	-	-	-
50.	Unknown	-	-	-	-	-	3.51	2.80	-	-	1.66	-	2.78	-

APPENDIX-B

SHARE IN JAMA' OF ZAMINDAR CLANS FOR THE SUBA AS A WHOLE

Sl. No.	Caste/ Clan	Jama' (,000 omitted)	Jama' of each clan as % of jama' of Rajputs	% of total jama' of suba
1	2	3	4	5
	RAJPUTS			
1.	Bais	915	0.30	0.17
2.	Bachhal	730	0.24	0.14
3.	Bankra	2,278	0.75	0.44
4.	Badgujar	11,141	3.65	2.13
5.	Bhadauriya	6,427	2.10	1.23
6.	Bundela	740	0.24	0.14
7.	Chandel	2,921	0.94	0.56
8.	Chauhan	64,048	20.97	12.25
9.	Dhakra	1,594	0.52	0.30
10.	Gahlot	3,028	0.99	0.58
11.	Gaur	14,986	4.90	2.87
12.	Gauruah	647	0.21	0.12
13.	Jadon	2,807	0.92	0.54
14.	Janghara	521	0.17	0.10
15.	Kachhwaha	13,718	4.49	2.62
16.	Khidmatya	209	0.07	0.04
17.	Panwar	6,796	2.23	1.30
18.	Parihar	10,666	3.49	2.04
19.	Pundir	5,589	1.83	1.07
20.	Rathore	7,138	2.34	1.36
21.	Rawat	5,269	1.73	1.01
22.	Sakarval	13,661	4.47	2.61
23.	Sengar	11,409	3.74	2.18
24.	Suraikhi	495	0.16	0.09
25.	Suraj	2,278	0.75	0.44
26.	Tonwar	25,209	8.25	4.82
27.	Kharwal	3,447	1.13	0.66
28.	Misc.	86,718	28.40	16.58
	Total :	3,05,385	100.00	58.39

Appendix - I (11)

(Cates other than Rajputs)

Sl. No.	Caste / Clan	*Jama'* (,000 omitted)	*Jama'* of each cast/clan as % of jama' of castes other than Rajputs	% of total *jama'* of the *suba*
1	2	3	4	5
1.	Abbasi	640	0.29	0.12
2.	Afghan	13,667	6.28	2.61
3.	Khanzada	24,125	11.09	4.61
4.	Malikzada	4,422	2.03	0.85
5.	Meo	19,734	9.07	3.77
6.	Mina	656	0.30	0.13
7.	Musalman	4,713	2.17	0.90
8.	Saiyid	1,329	0.61	0.25
9.	Shaikhzada	7,115	3.27	1.36
10.	Turkman	4,636	2.13	0.89
11.	Ahir	12,456	5.72	2.38
12.	Baqqal (Bania)	7,844	3.60	1.50
13.	Brahman	25,631	11.78	4.90
14.	Gond	3,323	1.53	0.64
15.	Gujar	4,582	2.11	0.88
16.	Jat	44,281	20.35	8.47
17.	Kayastha	4,426	2.03	0.85
18.	Kunbi	7,465	3.43	1.43
19.	Lodha	14,986	6.89	2.87
20.	Thattar	1,529	0.70	0.29
21.	Miscellaneous	6,348	2.92	1.21
22.	Unknown	3,694	1.70	0.71
	Total:	2,17,602	100.00	41.60

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APPENDIX - C

SHARE OF JAMA' OF 'CULTIVATING' AND 'NON-CULTIVATING' CASTES, C. 1595.

Sl. No.	Sarkar	'Cultivating Castes'	'None-Cultivating Castes'	Miscellaneous	Un-Known
1.	Agra	24.29	75.71	-	-
2.	Kalpi	11.12	79.23	9.65	-
3.	Kanauj	3.41	96.14	0.45	-
4.	Kol	3.82	96.18	-	-
5.	Gwalior	17.24	82.76	-	-
6.	Erachh	4.91	91.58	-	3.51
7.	Payanwan	40.84	45.95	10.41	2.80
8.	Narwar	-	100.00	-	-
9.	Mandlaer	-	100.00	-	-
10.	Alwar	28.75	69.04	0.55	1.66
11.	Tijara	52.36	47.64	-	-
12.	Narnaul	38.02	59.20	-	2.78
13.	Sahar	68.59	31.41	-	-

...

APPENDIX - D

Average of Dams per Horse and per Foot retainer of Zamindars by caste

Sl. No.	Sarkar	Rajputs		Shaikhzada		Brahman		Jat		Gujar	
		Cav.	Inft.	Cav.	Inft.	Cav.	Inft.	Cav.	Inft.	Cav.	Inft.
1.	Agra	47.29	4.94	10.00	2.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
2.	Kalpi	56.00	1.70	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3.	Kanauj	34.62	1.31	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4.	Kol	17.23	1.15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5.	Gwalior	19.62	1.63	-	-	56.50	5.00	16.00	1.00	2.00	1.11
6.	Erachh	12.56	0.56	-	-	-	-	[redacted]			
7.	Payanwan	14.17	0.67	-	-	-	-	4.50	0.25	13.50	1.00
8.	Narwar	8.00	0.21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9.	Mandlaer	1.00	0.07	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10.	Alwar	11.11	0.08	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
11.	Narnaul	8.36	2.65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12.	Tijara	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
13.	Sahar	-	-	-	-	-	-	39.50	1.60	-	-

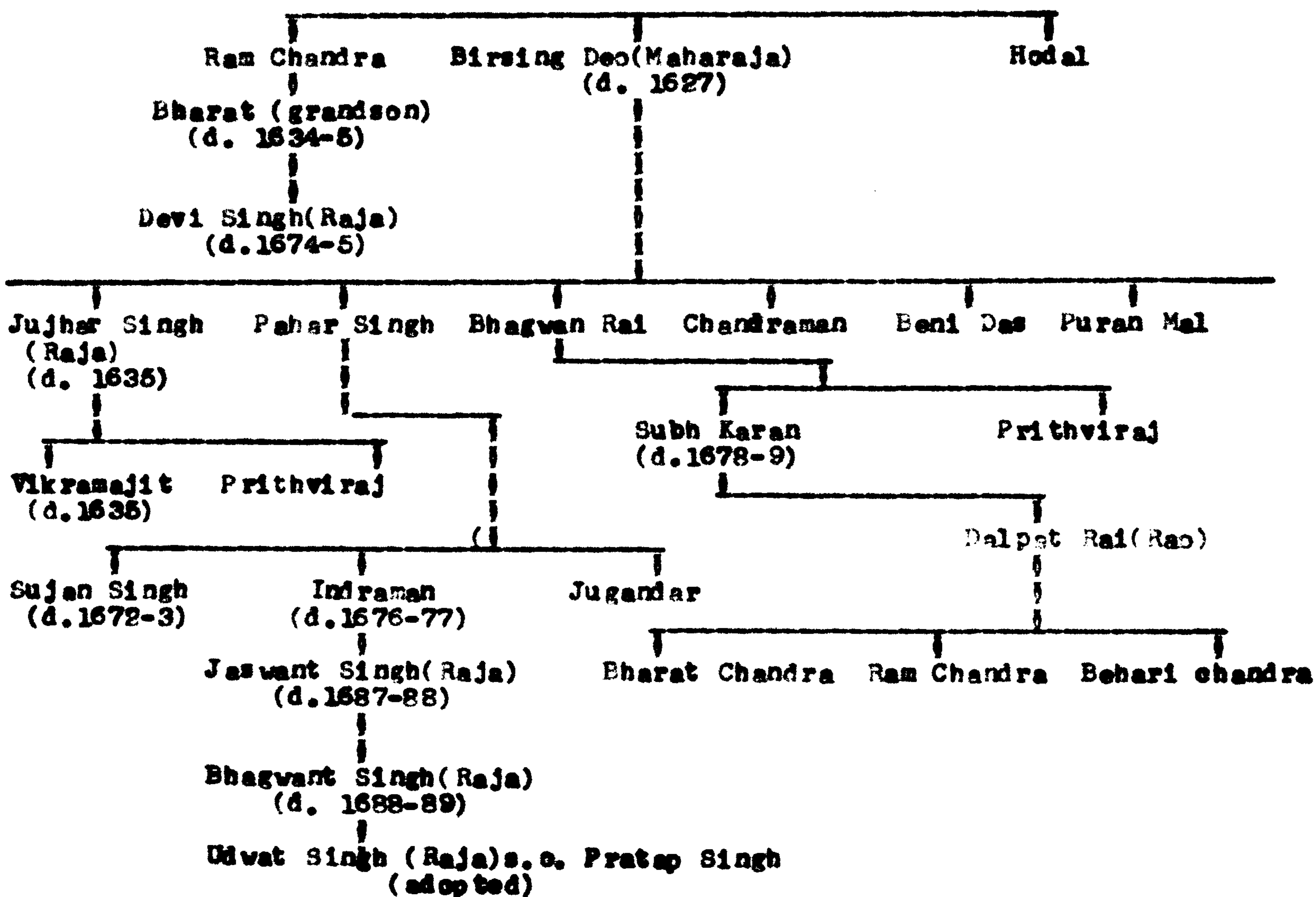
Cav.: Cavalry   Inft.: Infantry

APPENDIX -D .... (11)

Sl. No.	Sarkar	Kayastha		Gond		Ahir		Khanzada		Meo	
		Cav.	Inft.	Cav.	Inft.	Cav.	Inft.	Cav.	Inft.	Cav.	Inft.
1.	Agra	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2.	Kalpi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3.	Kanauj	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4.	Kol	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5.	Gwalior	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6.	Erachh	29.00	1.00	21.00	0.50	-	-	-	-	-	-
7.	Payanvan	-	-	-	-	17.00	1.00	-	-	-	-
8.	Narvar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9.	Mandlaer	-	-	-	-	-	-	[redacted]			
10.	Alvar	-	-	-	-	-	-	13.75	1.50	33.60	0.80
11.	Narnaul	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	33.00	3.00
12.	Tijara	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
13.	Sahar	-	-	-	-	12.00	3.00	-	-	-	-

Cav.: Cavalry
Inft.: Infantry

APPENDIX ~~E~~ I



Madhukar Sah (Raja)
(d. 1592)
Ram Chandra
Birsing Deo(Maharaja)
(d. 1627)
Hodal
Bharat (grandson)
(d. 1634-5)
Devi Singh(Raja)
(d.1674-5)
Jujhar Singh
(Raja)
(d. 1635)
Pahar Singh
Bhagwan Rai
Chandraman
Beni Das
Puran Mal
Subh Karan
(d.1678-9)
Prithviraj
Vikramajit
(d.1635)
Prithviraj
Dalpat Rai(Rao)
Sujan Singh
(d.1672-3)
Indraman
(d.1676-77)
Jugandar
Jaswant Singh(Raja)
(d.1687-88)
Bharat Chandra
Ram Chandra
Behari chandra
Bhagvant Singh(Raja)
(d. 1688-89)
Udvat Singh (Raja)s.o. Pratap Singh
(adopted)

....

APPENDIX 'F'

Name	Year	Mansab		Source
		Zat	Sawar	
1. Ram Chandra S/o Madhukar Sah	1592-95	500	-	T.U.161(a)
2. Raja Bir Singh Deo S/o Madhukar Sah	1605-06	3,000	2,000	Tuzuk,10
	1611-12	4,000	2,000	Tuzuk,100
	1612-13	4,000	2,200	Tuzuk,112
	1615-16	4,000	2,200	Tuzuk,137
	1619-20	5,000	5,000	Tuzuk,306
Died	1627	-	-	-
3. Bharat,grandson of Ram Chandra	1618-19	600	400	Tuzuk,271
	1619-20	1,500	1,000	Tuzuk,355
	1627-28	3,000	2,500	Lahori, I,120
	1629-30	3,000	3,000	-do- 302
	1631-32	3,500	3,000	-do- 396-7
	1634-35	4,000	3,500	-do- 542
Died	1634-35	-	-	-do- I(b),13
4. Jujhar Singh S/o Birsingh Deo	1622-23	2,000	1,000	Tuzuk, 356
	1627-28	5,000	4,000	Qazwini,152(a)
	1629-30	5,000	5,000	Lahori,I,296
	1635-36	5,000	5,000	-do- I(b),294
5. Pahar Singh S/o Bir Singh Deo	1627-28	2,000	1,040	-do- I, 121
	"	3,000	2,000	-do- , 205
	1642-43	3,000	3,000 (1000X2-3h)	-do- II,303

	1645-46	3,000	3,000 (2000X2-3h)	Lahori,II,479
	1649-50	4,000	3,000 X 2-3h	Waris,98(b)
	1657	4,000	3,500 X 2-3h	Salih,III,482
6. Vikramajit, s/o Jujhar Singh	1627-28	1,000	1,000	Lahori,I,184.
	1630-31	2,000	2,000	-do- 339
Died	1635-36	2,000	2,000	-do-I(b),301
7. Chandraman, s/o Birsingh Deo	1627-28	1,000	600	Lahori,I,205
	1630-31	1,500	700	-do- 372
	1637-38	1,500	800	-do-I(b),306
	1657-58	1,500	800	-do-II, 731
	1657-58	1,500	800	Salih,III,462.
8. Bhagwan Das s/o Birsingh Deo	1627-28	1,000	600	Lahori,I,205
	1637-38	1,000	600	-do-I,(b),309
Died	1640-41	1,500	1,200	-do-II, 734
9. Beni Das, s/o Birsingh Deo	1630-31	500	40	-do-I, 368
	1637-38	500	200	-do-I(b),324
Died	1640-41	500	200	-do-II, 749
10. Devi Singh, s/o Bharat	1634-35	2,000	2,000	Lahori,I(b),13
	"	2,500	2,000	-do- " ,72
	1637-38	2,500	2,000	-do- " ,300
	1647-48	2,500	2,000	-do- II, 725
	1656-57	2,000	2,000 (500x2-3h)	Waris, 261(b)
	1657-58	2,000	2,000 (500x2-3h)	Salih,III,457
	1658-59	2,500	2,500 (500x2-3h)	Al. 206-7

APPENDIX E (111)

	1661-62	2,000	2,000	Al. 758
11. Jugandar, s/o Pahar Singh	1639-40	300	100	Hyd.157/2(M.Athar Ali Directory)
12. Puran Mal s/o Birsing Deo	1650	1,000	1,000	Waris, 98(b)
	1651-52	1,500	1,000	-do- , 136(a)
	1654-55	1,500	1,500	-do- , 212(a)
	1656-57	1,500	1,500	-do- , 263(a)
	1656-57	1,500	1,500	Salih,III,461
	1666-67	2,000	1,500	Al., 986
13. Sujan Singh s/o Pahar Singh	1654-55	2,000	-	Waris, 199(a)
	1656-57	2,000	-	-do- , 261(b)
	1656-57	2,500	-	Salih,III,262
	1657-58	2,000	-	-do- ,457
	1659-60	3,500	-	Al., 342
	1660-61	3,500	-	Al., 486
	1665-66	3,500	-	Al., 90
Died	1672-73	-	-	Dilkusha, 60(b)
14. Subh Karan s/o Bhagwan Rai	1659-60	2,500	2,000	Al., 301-2
	1660-61	2,000	1,000x2 2-3h	Al., 565
	1662-63	2,000	1,200	Al., 635
	1667-68	2,000	1,500	Al.,1034
Died	1678-79	2,500	-	Dilkusha, 74(b)
15. Mitra Sen	1659-60	1,500	1,200	Al., 302.
	1666-67	1,000	1,000	Al., 1062

APPENDIX 'B' (iv)

16. Indraman s/o Pahar Singh	1654-55	500	400	Waris,199(a)
	1656-57	500	400	-do- 269(b)
	1657-58	500	400	Salih,III,482
	1676-77	2,000	-	Dilkusha,69(a)
17. Champat	1656-57	500	500	Waris,269(b)
	1656-57	500	500	Salih,III,482
	1657-58	5,000(?)	-	Dilkusha,16(a)
18. Dalpat s/o Subh Karan	1671-72	300	300	-do- ,62(a)
	1677-78	400	400	-do- ,72(b)
	1678-79	500	500x2-3h	-do- ,74(b)
	1680-81	600	600x2-3h	-do- ,80(a)
	1681-82	700	700	-do- ,80(a)
	1684-85	1,500	1,500	-do- ,90(b)
	1687-88	2,000	2,100	-do- ,95(b)
	1687-88	2,500	2,500	-do- ,96(a)
	1690-91	2,500	2,000	-do- 101(a)
	1690-91	2,500	2,500	-do- 101(b)
	1697-98	3,000	1,500	Mas.Alm.,392
	1706-07	3,000	3,000	Dilkusha,157(a)
19. Jaswant Singh,s/o Indraman Died	1676-77	1,500	1,000x2-3h	M. Athar Ali,250
	1687-88	-	-	- -
20. Bhagvant Singh, s/o Jaswant Singh Died	1687-88	1,000	500	Dilkusha, 96(a)
	1688-89	-	-	- 98(a)
21. Udwat Singh,s/o Pratap Singh	1692-93	2,000	1,500	M.A., 360-1.
	1694-95	3,500	1,600	Akh.25 Rabi I,38 RY
	1703-95	3,500	1,500	M.A.473;T.U.131(a)

<u>APPENDIX 'C' (v)</u>

22. Sarup Singh	1694-95	1,500	800	<u>Dilkusha</u>, 117b.
23. Bharat Chandra, s/o Rao Dalpat	1687-88	800	200	-do- 121a.
24. Ram Chandra, s/o Rao Dalpat	1701-02	2,000	2,000 (1000x2-3h)	<u>Akh</u>.27 Muharram 44 R.Y.
25. Chhatrasal, s/o Champat	1706-07	4,000	-	<u>Dilkusha</u>,157b-158a.
26. Hirday Sah, s/o Chhatrasal	1707	1,500	1,000	<u>Akh</u>.Jan'1707, as cited by B.D. Gupta, <u>Chhatrasal Bundela</u>, p.63.
27. Padam Singh, s/o Chhatrasal	1707	1,500	500	-do-
28. [illegible]ehari Chandra, s/o Rao Dalpat.	1707	1,500	1,000 x 2-3h	M. Athar Ali, <u>The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb</u>,282.

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APPENDIX - G

Sl. No.	Year	Total of the Mansab Zat	Total of the Mansab Savar	Sl. No.	Year	Total of the Mansab Zat	Total of the Mansab Savar
1.	1605-6	3,000	2,000	28.	1659-60	12,500	10,800
2.	1611-12	4,000	2,000	29.	1660-61	12,000	10,100
3.	1612-13	4,000	2,200	30.	1661-62	11,500	10,100
4.	1615-16	4,000	2,900	31.	1662-63	11,500	9,300
5.	1618-19	4,600	3,300	32.	1665-66	11,000	9,800
6.	1619-20	6,500	6,000	33.	1666-67	11,000	9,800
7.	1622-23	8,500	7,000	34.	1667-68	11,000	10,100
8.	1627-28	13,000	10,700	35.	1671-72	8,300	7,900
9.	1629-30	14,000	12,200	36.	1672-73	5,800	5,400
10.	1630-31	16,000	13,340	37.	1674-75	5,300	4,400
11.	1631-32	16,500	13,340	38.	1676-77	3,800	3,800
12.	1634-35)	18,000	13,840	39.	1677-78	3,900	3,900
13.	1634-35)	15,500	14,340	40.	1678-79	4,500	4,000
14.	1635-36)	15,500	14,340	41.	1680-81	2,100	3,200
15.	1635-36)	8,500	7,340	42.	1681-82	2,200	2,700
16.	1637-38	8,500	5,600	43.	1684-85	3,000	3,500
17.	1639-40	8,800	5,700	44.	1687-88)	4,000	4,300
18.	1640-41	9,300	6,300	45.	1687-88)	4,000	3,200
19.	1640-41	7,300	4,900	46.	1688-89	4,500	3,700
20.	1642-43	7,300	6,900	47.	1690-91)	4,500	3,200
21.	1645-46	7,300	7,900	48.	1690-91)	4,500	3,700
22.	1649-50	8,300	8,900	49.	1692-93	4,500	4,200
23.	1650	9,300	9,900	50.	1694-95	8,000	4,800
24.	1651-52	9,800	9,900	51.	1697-98	6,500	4,600
25.	1654-55	12,300	13,800	52.	1701-02	8,500	6,100
26.	1656-57	12,000	14,700	53.	1703	8,500	6,000
27.	1658-59	13,000	7,000	54.	1706-07	15,000	8,000

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APPENDIX - H

Bhadauriyas

Sl. No.	Name	Year	*Mansab*	Assignments	Sources
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Rai Mukutman	1595	500 *zat* 2000 *zat*	-	*Ain*, I,163 *Zakhirat*, I,234
2.	Raja Bikramajit	1604-5			*Akbarnama*, III, 834.
3.	Rja Kishan Singh		1000/600		Lahori, III, 309; II,735.
4.	Rja Badan Singh		500/200		Lahori, II,324
		1643-4	1000/1000		*Ibid.*,348,732.
		1650	1500/1000		Waris,f. 53a.
		1650-51	1500/1400		*Ibid.*,f.1[illegible]b.
	Died	1653-54	1500/1400		*Ibid.*,f.170b.
5.	Raja Maha Singh	1653-54	1000/800		*Ibid.*
		1657-58	1000/1000		*Salih*, III,466.
		1657-58		Faujdar Khanwa	*Alamgirnama*,240
		1666-67	1000/1000 (500x2-3h)		*Ibid.*,1042
6.	Gaj Singh	1679-80	150/40		*Waqa'i Ranthambhore*, 400-1.
7.	Jai Singh	1679-80	100/20		*Ibid.*
8.	Debi Singh	1679-80	100 *zat*		*Ibid.*
9.	Udvat Singh	1679-80	-		*Ibid.*

APPENDIX - I

Narwaris

Sl. No.	Name	Year	Mansab	Assignments.	Sources
1.	Raja Askaran	1585	1000 *zat*	Governor Agra with Shaikh Ibrahim	*Akbar Nama*, III 457,510-11.
2.	Raja Raj Singh	1595	900 *zat*		*Ain*, I, 162.
		1609-10	4000/3000		*Tuzuk*, 75.
3.	Ram Das	1615-16	1000/400		*Tuzuk*, 148.
		1616-17	1000/500		*Ibid.*, 164.
		1617-18	1500/700		*Ibid.*, 207.
	Granted title of Raja	1617-18			*Ibid.*
		1623-24	2000/1000		*Ibid.*, 368.
		1634-35	1500/1500		Lahori, III,83.
			2000/1000		*Ibid.*, 303.
	Died	1639-40			*Ibid.*, II, 174.
4.	Raja Amar Singh	1639-40	1000/500		Lahori, II,134.
			1500/700		Waris, f.136a.
		1651-52	1500/800		*Ibid.*,f.144b.
		1655-56	1500/1000		*Ibid.*, f.228a.
		1657-58	1500/1000		*Salih*, III, 452.
		1657-58	1500/1000		*Alamgirnama*, 215.
		1667-68	1000/550		*Ibid.*, 1056.

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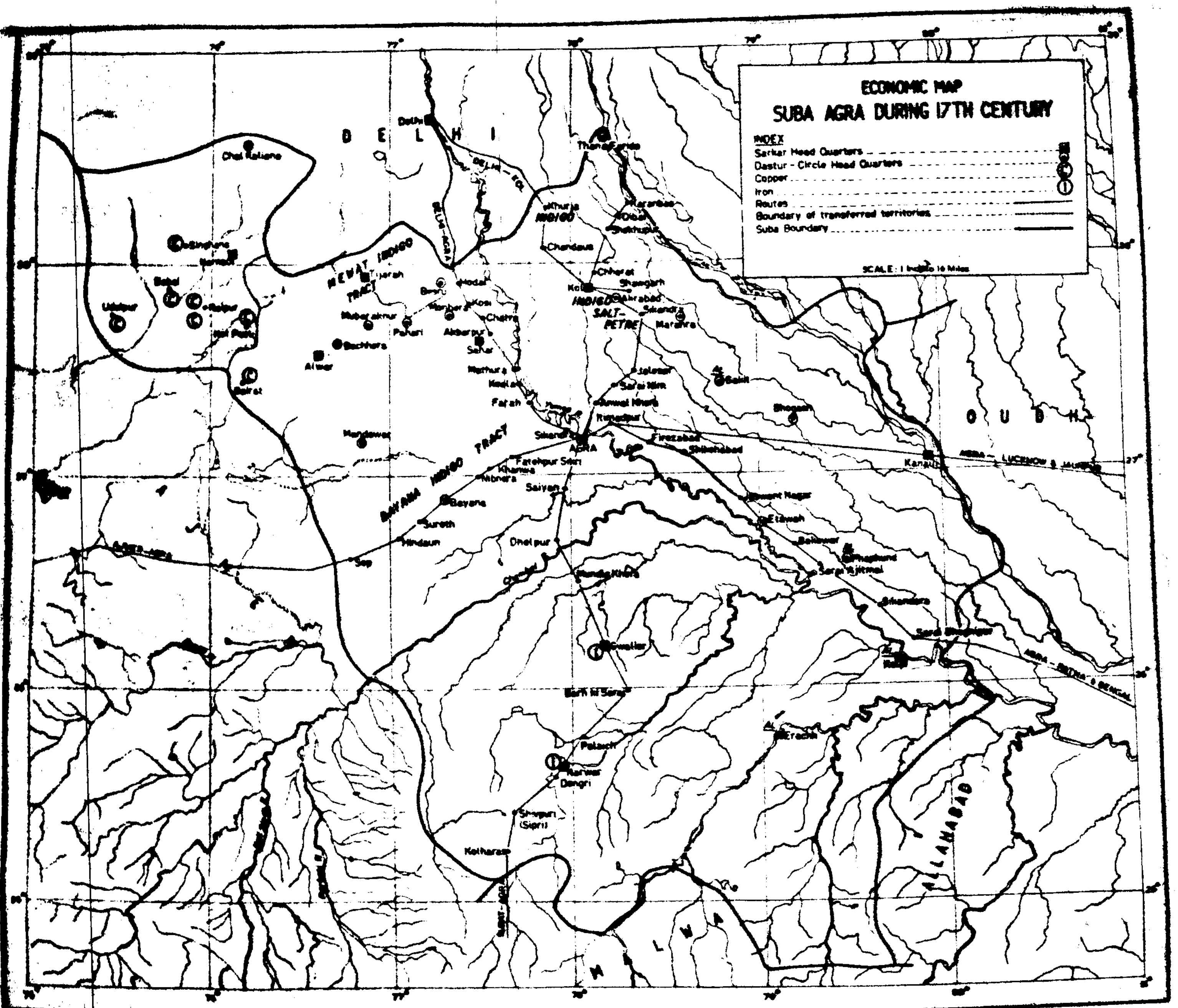
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MAP IX


ECONOMIC MAP
SUBA AGRA DURING 17TH CENTURY
INDEX
Sarkar Head Quarters
Dastur - Circle Head Quarters
Copper
Iron
Routes
Boundary of transferred territories
Suba Boundary
D E L H I
O U D H
M A L W A
ALLAHABAD
Delhi
AGRA
Mathura
Fatehpur Sikri
Bayana
Dholpur
Gwalior
Etawah
Kanauj
Firozabad
Shikohabad
Alwar
Narwar
Shivpuri (Sipri)
Kolharas
Hindaun
Saiyan
Kol
Chandaus
Erachh
MEWAT INDIGO TRACT
BAYANA INDIGO TRACT
INDIGO
SALT-PETRE